

# THE ARENA

A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY AND THE DRAMA

BY CHARLES KLEIN

The False Note in The Modernization of Germany

BY MAYNARD BUTLER

The Meaning of Christian Science. By W. D. McCrackan, A.M.

The Evolution of the Trust: Its Evil Element and the True Remedy

# FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND "OBSCENE" LITERATURE

By THEODORE SCHROEDER

You owe it to yourself to read this record of  
LIBERTY ABRIDGED and MORAL GROWTH  
IMPEDED. 25 cents, postpaid. Address,

**FREE SPEECH LEAGUE**

120 Lexington Avenue

New York City



## BLACK-AT-FIRST INK

For Fountain Pens gives the best results. Send for sample of Pomeroy's Mono-Chrome Ink. We also make all sorts of Inks, Mucilage, Paste and Sealing Wax.

**Pomeroy Brothers Co.**

310 Passaic Avenue,

EAST NEWARK, N. J.



# 1 CENT IS ALL IT WILL COST YOU

BELOW any other manufacturer or dealer in the world.

**DO NOT BUY A BICYCLE** from anyone, at any price, or on any kind of terms, until you have received our complete Free Catalogues illustrating and describing every kind of high-grade and low-grade bicycles, old patterns and latest models, and learn of our remarkable LOW PRICES and wonderful new offers made possible by selling from factory direct to rider with no middlemen's profits.

**WE SHIP ON APPROVAL** without a cent deposit. Pay the Freight and allow 10 Days Free Trial and make other liberal terms which no other house in the world will do. You will learn everything and get much valuable information by simply writing us a postal.

We need a **Rider Agent** in every town and can offer an opportunity to make money to suitable young men who apply at once.

## \$8.50 PUNCTURE-PROOF TIRES ONLY \$4.80 PER PAIR

Regular Price \$8.50 per pair.  
**To Introduce We Will Sell You a Sample Pair for Only**

**\$4.80**  
NAILS, TACKS OR GLASS WON'T LET OUT THE AIR

(CASH WITH ORDER \$4.65)  
**NO MORE TROUBLE FROM PUNCTURES.**

Result of 15 years experience in tire making. No danger from **THORNS, CACTUS, PINS, NAILS, TACKS OR GLASS.** Serious punctures, like intentional knife cuts, can be vulcanized like any other tire.

Two Hundred Thousand pairs now in actual use. Over Seventy-five Thousand pairs sold last year.

**DESCRIPTION:** Made in all sizes. It is lively and easy riding, very durable and lined inside with a special quality of rubber, which never becomes porous and which closes up small punctures without allowing the air to escape. We have hundreds of letters from satisfied customers stating that their tires have only been pumped up once or twice in a whole season. They weigh no more than an ordinary tire, the puncture resisting qualities being given by several layers of thin, specially prepared fabric on the tread. That "Holding Back" sensation commonly felt when riding on asphalt or soft roads is overcome by the patent "Basket Weave" tread which prevents all air from being squeezed out between the tire and the road thus overcoming all suction. The regular price of these tires is \$8.50 per pair, but for advertising purposes we are making a special factory price to the rider of only \$4.80 per pair. All orders shipped same day letter is received. We ship C.O.D. on approval. You do not pay a cent until you have examined and found them strictly as represented.

We will allow a cash discount of 5 per cent (thereby making the price \$4.55 per pair) if you send **FULL CASH WITH ORDER** and enclose this advertisement. We will also send one nickel plated brass hand pump and two Sampson metal puncture closers on full paid orders (these metal puncture closers to be used in case of intentional knife cuts or heavy gashes). Tires to be returned at **OUR** expense if for any reason they are not satisfactory on examination.

We are perfectly reliable and money sent to us is as safe as in a bank. Ask your Postmaster, Banker, Express or Freight Agent or the Editor of this paper about us. If you order a pair of these tires, you will find that they will ride easier, run faster, wear better, last longer and look finer than any tire you have ever used or seen at any price. We know that you will be so well pleased that when you want a bicycle you will give us your order. We want you to send us a small trial order at once, hence this remarkable tire offer.

**COASTER-BRAKES,** built-up-wheels, saddles, pedals, parts and repairs, and prices charged by dealers and repair men. Write for our big **SUNDEY** catalogue.

**DO NOT WAIT** but write us a postal today. **DO NOT THINK OF BUYING** a bicycle or a pair of tires from anyone until you know the new and wonderful offers we are making. It only costs a postal to learn everything. Write it **NOW.**

**HEAD CYCLE COMPANY Dept. E-256 CHICAGO, ILL.**



Notice the thick rubber tread "A" and puncture strips "B" and "D," also rim strip "H" to prevent rim cutting. This tire will outlast any other make—SOFT, ELASTIC and EASY RIDING.



**INK**

the best  
of Pom-  
We also  
ucilage.

**S Co.**

N. J.

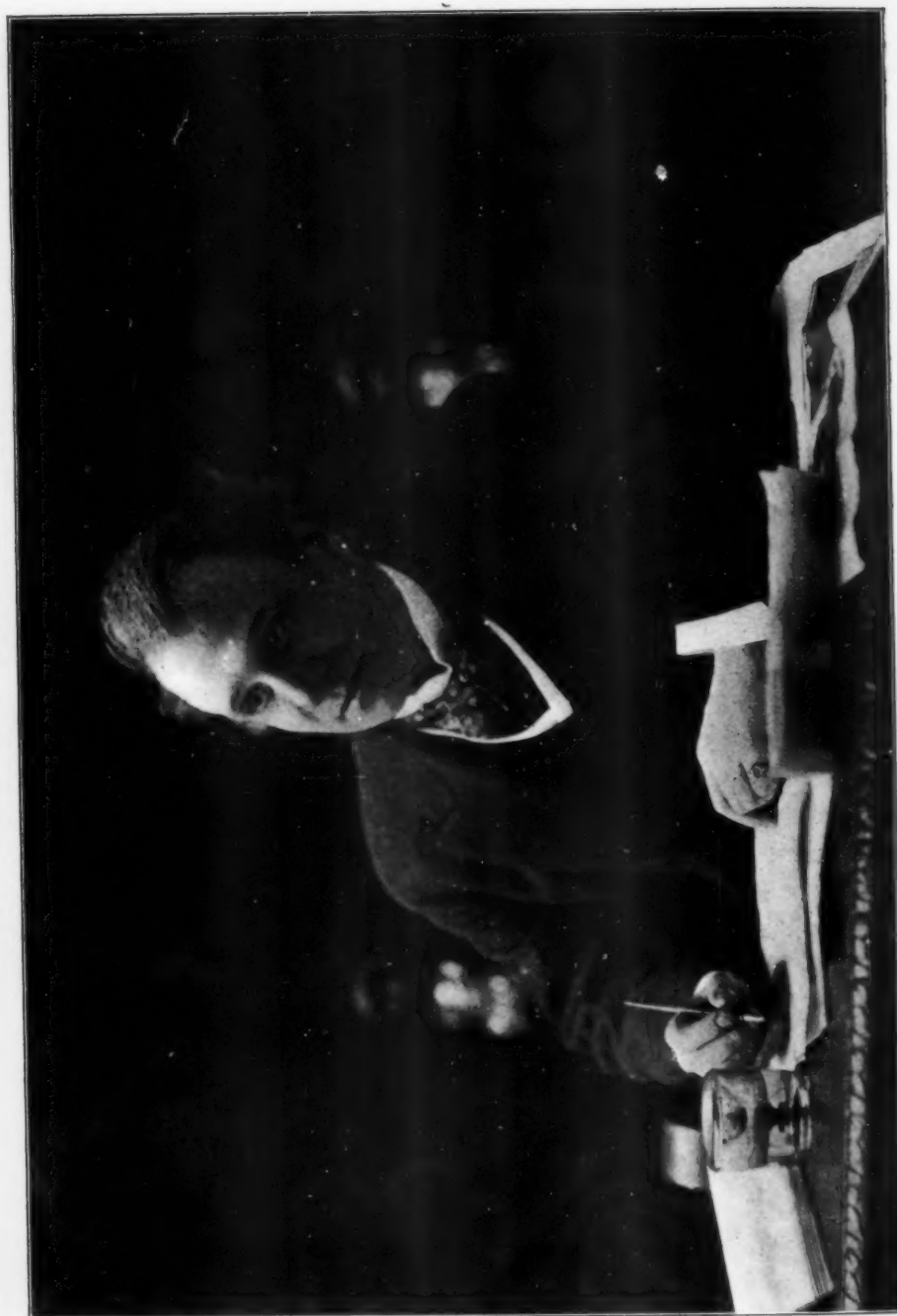


Photo. by Otto Sarony Co., N. Y.

## CHARLES KLEIN

THE ARENA

VOL.

T  
dero  
whic  
and  
al b  
In  
ted  
In  
awfr  
the  
save  
ple-  
In  
ing  
crea  
Allia  
indu  
In  
ty m  
ter  
unsy  
In  
Sult  
com  
by  
slun  
In  
on



*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.*

# The Arena

VOL. 37

MAY, 1907

No. 210

## THE FALSE NOTE IN THE MODERNIZATION OF GERMANY.

BY MAYNARD BUTLER,

Special Correspondent of THE ARENA in Germany.

THE WINTER of 1906 and 1907 began, for all Europe, with an undercurrent of unrest and suspicion for which none but the lookers behind, above and beyond factitious signs of international blandishments were prepared.

In England, the Education Bill agitated every grade of society.

In Russia, quasi-revolution executed awful deeds, threatened the existence of the Second Duma, rendered all things, save one—the bitter suffering of the people—uncertain.

In Italy, the distrust engendered during the Morocco Conference and an increasing dislike to a renewal of the Triple Alliance, unsettled statesmen and affected industry.

In Serbia, rumors of a change of dynasty made that country reassume the sinister aspect which stamped it before its unspeakable tragedy.

In Turkey, the dangerous illness of the Sultan aroused preparations for possible complications amongst the Powers, which, by tacit consent, had been allowed to slumber for several years.

In Austria, the determination to force on the long-deferred alteration in the

franchise laws, coupled with fears for the health of her aged Emperor, Franz Josef, made factions on fire with haste.

In France, the political insubordination of the Roman Catholic Houses, and the genuine dislike to grieve a good man, in the person of the present Pope, were bringing to the surface some of the finest qualities of the French people, rarely exhibited in public life, the exercise of which inspired the admiration of other lands, though it caused disturbances in her own.

In Germany, people were beginning to feel the consequences of alternate intrigue against, flattery of, and insult to, other nations; dishonesty and bribery in one of her State Departments had been uncovered; the Poles of East and West Prussia had refused submission to the absurdly, pettily tyrannical measures taken to deprive them of their race traditions and religious habits; the Party of the Center, the largest in the Reichstag, had been outraged by the surreptitious retention on the part of the attorney for the Government, of papers belonging to one of its Representatives, containing evidence against the said Department, and the breaking open of his private desk,

within the Reichstag Building,—an act unparalleled in the history of Parliaments; the self-invited visits of the Sovereign to foreign courts, which excited the risibles of all Europe, had stung the Germans themselves and aroused a smarting sense of the humorous attitude into which Absolutism is thrusting their country.

England's difficulty was purely a home-question, not even British, but literally English. For although all Great Britain would indeed perceive the change, were Church and State to be separated—which in its pith is what the Government aims the Education Bill as it stands, to prepare the way for—the perception, for instance, as far as Australia, Canada, South Africa, India, and even Ireland and Scotland are concerned, would be without direct influence upon the life or the interests of the people. But English habits, English sentiments, English affections, would receive a blow; and English history would be wrenched from its line of continuity. For England is unique in that her ecclesiastical preceded her political system, and is the groundwork out of which her body politic and the laws of her counties and parishes have grown; not *vice versa*, as in almost every other civilized country.

This fact, so frequently ignored by Continental writers, and sometimes forgotten by Anglo-Saxon observers of English life, should never be lost sight of. It is the clue to many of the otherwise baffling phases of the strife over the Education Bill. Newspaper writers who infer that the amendments to the Bill, made in the House of Lords, and the refusal of the Commons to consider them, foretell the "abolition of the House of Lords," are amusingly remote from the point at issue. "The abolition of the House of Lords" is not really desired even by the veriest London Radical; and so far from the Liberal Party advocating such an overturning of institutions, many of its most famous representatives, from time immemorial, have been Members of the House of Lords, and its most influential

leaders of to-day would frown upon such drastic attempts as fiercely as would the most Conservative Peer.

Nor does the delay in dealing with the amendments indicate that the Prime Minister will dissolve Parliament and call a general election. To do that would be to imperil a return to power and endanger the passing of measures much dearer to the Liberal Party as a whole than the Education Bill.

In fact, nothing in particular will, for the present, happen.

The form in which the Bill left Mr. Birrell's incompetent hands will perhaps be slightly altered by Mr. McKenna, who succeeds to his place in the Ministry, and will be given another trial-trip late in the year, early next year, or at that happy, indefinite period known as "some other day." Mr. McKenna will then, perhaps, in his turn, give place to Dr. MacNamara, who would be a step forward, and who, being by nature a hard worker, by profession a schoolmaster, and by temperament a laudably ambitious man, would do much for the improvement of Secondary Schools. But the revolutionized, the complete educational measure which England needs, which England could adapt to every shade of religious opinion, and could apply to every class of society, will wait for the man of the future. That man must be more than a specialist in education; he must not be a specialist at all. He must be a man of affairs and so recognize the demands of the century; he must know university needs and desires, but he must appreciate, not only perceive, the inarticulate ideals, the till now hindered aims, of the laborer, the shop-keeper and the banker on a small scale; he must be acquainted with the best technical colleges, institutions and schools of every country, but he must not attempt to imitate any of them, only to incorporate their excellencies into his own new design. He must include the training of women, in engineering, journalism and all kinds of municipal business. He must incul-

cate technical skill, with the right of initiative; exactness, with fullest scope for originality; obedience to routine, with room for individual bent; concentration of the mental faculties, with cultivation of every physical excellence; pride in one's own empire, with sympathetic acknowledgment of the pride of other men in their country. And throughout his new system, from university hall to primary school bench, must be traceable a shining thread of unity, of mutual comprehension of Life as a Great Whole, and of every man and woman as necessary to the Whole; of belief in the best as within the reach of all, and of enthusiasm to attain that best.

In Holland, the failure, for the second time, of the birth of an heir to the House of Orange, aroused something like dismay. Her statesmen were thereby brought face to face with a problem the solution of which is vital to the maintenance of that Royal Line, and even to her very existence as an independent sovereignty. Whether to readjust the terms of the marriage contract made with the Prince Consort, and escort him back to his native Mecklenburg, or to alter the laws of succession, asking the support of the Powers in that decision, are indeed difficult alternatives.

But the Netherlands are a self-contained people, good at holding their tongues; and they are not likely to take more than one of the Powers into their confidence beforehand, should the dread decision have to be made. That One would become their ally in protecting their independence from the avidity of their neighbor, who looks with gloating eyes upon Holland's splendidly-equipped little navy, her rich, well-governed East Indian and West Indian Colonies, with their population of more than thirty-four millions, her commercially-perfected trade with them, and her beautiful, protected and magnificently situated coast-line.

"Envy," said Bismarck in one of his speeches, "is our national failing" (*Neid ist unser Nationalfehler*), and he who saw

the ill-concealed glee with which Holland's second disappointment was greeted in Germany, and read the brutally indelicate articles in which the possibility of a German Prince becoming Queen Wilhelmina's successor was set forth, might well have believed Bismarck's words to have been spoken for that very occasion.

Austria's strifes, those polyglot dissensions amongst the Hungarian, Czech and Teutonic elements within the Empire, are not new, but they become keener, more bitter, as the Emperor Franz Josef, beloved by all of his differing, bickering subjects and revered by every nation, grows older, and the attempts of Germany to appropriate the last-named elements show forth more clearly. Europe is, of course, too well informed upon the latter point to allow its international attention to be fixed upon it permanently; but the Austrians themselves naturally resent the self-appointed visits of William the Second to their Court, an intrusion which, to the punctilious, polite and ceremonious Austrian, savors of barbarism; and the self-glorification of his visit during the past summer over, the contempt of the Hungarian and the hatred of the Czech for the Teutonic faction burst forth with truly vitriolic vigor. To foster such friction is the aim, indeed, it is gravely surmised it is the mission, of Germany's agents in Vienna, Buda Pesth and Prague, and the opportunity afforded by the excitement over the franchise was, this year, embraced.

But that which is sown has also to be reaped. And every such maneuver on the part of Germany but strengthens the hands of the Hungarian Parliament and hastens the day of the ascendancy of that talented, energetic and eminently well-informed half of the Austrian Empire which, having a long score to pay off, will not fail to begin the payment early in that day.

France's decisive action in closing the Religious Houses and Jesuit Schools is of universal importance; of such significance as to have stirred the depths in

every Roman Catholic country of the world. It means, in fact, the most telling blow at the very foundations of Papacy that has been dealt since the separation of Italy from the Vatican. How welcome is the blow at the beginning of this twentieth century, in lands less independent politically and financially than is France, is apparent in the refusal of Spain to permit her Embassy in Paris to harbor the subordinate ecclesiastic of the expelled Papal Legate, or to receive his papers; her Secretary of State declaring that Spain holds herself entirely aloof from cognizance of national questions in the countries to which she sends diplomatic representatives.

From Portugal to Brazil, from Canada to Mexico, the same negative signs of satisfaction at the step taken by France are to be detected. And naturally! When will the good, the truly religious in the Catholic church learn that until they cast off the pretentious incubus of Rome, the Faith which they love will be at the mercy of iniquitous men, and what such—not devout believers—have made it,—an excuse for political interferences from one end of the earth to the other. And amongst the saintly believers may well be counted the present Pope, who, left to his own impulses, would indeed be what his followers call him, their Father in God. As it is, he has, through his advisers, made a mistake in statesmanship which, as just said, may under Heaven be destined to overthrow those advisers and their entire system and lead to the regeneration of the Catholic church. The direct results of the mistake will be the curtailing of the Papal revenues to an alarming extent; for France was the chief contributor to the coffers of the Vatican. Without her enormous annual bestowals the state and ceremony which the said advisers love, but which the spiritually-minded Pius the Tenth would gladly see abolished to an infinitesimal degree, cannot be maintained. But the mistake in statesmanship has also exposed to view the amazing connection of

Germany with the Vatican. The chief friend of the Emperor, his Chancellor, Prince Bülow, is understood to be closely allied, through his Italian wife, with the Black or Jesuit Party in Rome, in consequence of which a German has recently been made the head of the Jesuit Order. In return for the connivance, the Jesuits, it would appear, were to see to it that the Polish Nationalists in East and West Prussia, led by their Archbishop, should be terrified into silence. And scarcely was the German Jesuit-General installed, hardly had the German Minister for Foreign Affairs returned from Rome, when the announcement of the *sudden death* of the ardent Pole, Florian Stablewski, Archbishop of Posen, adored of his race, sent a gruesome shudder throughout Europe. More gruesome still have been the rumors following that event.

"Does Protestant Germany make use of the methods of the Inquisition?" is a question that is naturally not nailed upon the castle walls, nor to the door of the Sycophant; but that, when Stablewski was hardly cold in his grave and a German supervision established over his see, the question should be asked in the very center of Luther's land, less than four hundred years after Luther's fight to free it and the whole Christian world, is an appalling token of the foothold which Absolutism has obtained in Germany.

And it is Absolutism that lies at the root of every one of modern Germany's problems. It was disapproval and dread of Absolutism that united the majority in the Reichstag when they refused to vote against their consciences and were punished by the dissolution of Parliament on the thirteenth of December, after a session of but one month and a few days, an angry Emperor forcing the country into the turmoil and expense of a general election. Not lack, but stress, of love of country bound the Center and the Socialists when they combined to overthrow a bill in which the country was asked to give that Department of



the Government the chief Minister of which had just been dismissed for countenancing corruption, participating in bribery and glossing over nameless cruelties and odious immoralities, an additional 29,500,000 marks for vaguely defined and apparently not clearly definable uses in Southwest Africa. Without doubt the same or another combination of parties will reassert its opposition in the next or a later session; for human freedom is difficult to kill, and Germany's manhood has at last torn off its muzzle. It will be half-muzzled, and three-quarters muzzled, and loosely muzzled, again and again, but the Crown Prince William will not have been long upon the throne before the strongest elements amongst his subjects will look back upon the days of muzzling as upon a tale that is told.

Was it a forecast of that day that impelled a crowd of students and other young men, on the night of the twenty-sixth of January, after the elections, to pass by the Schloss and make their way down the Linden to the Crown Prince's palace, where they halted, and where, undaunted by the brutalities of the police—who but obeyed orders—they remained, cheering him vociferously, until he and his intelligent, smiling wife appeared upon the balcony and greeted them. The incident, spontaneous, astonishing and significant, has made a deeper impression than any of the arranged events of the election weeks, and has set all Germany thinking.

"We hear," exclaimed the Chancellor in his speech at the opening of the Reichstag in November, "too much of Bismarck these days!"

There spoke the meagerly-endowed, the tool-man, with disastrous self-revelation! The gigantic figure of the Great Chancellor naturally looms up in annoying contrast, "these days." In "these days," when to be conspicuous in public position is to stamp oneself a mediocrity!

Alas for Germany if this dearth of strength continue much longer!

He who wishes well to the United

Teutonic Nation, in contradistinction to the German Empire, with its restless Cæsarism, can but hope that individual members, and groups, of the Liberal, the National Liberal, the Radical, and the Conservative Parties, all of whom in their hearts disapprove of that restlessness and deprecate that Cæsarism as strongly as any Centerist or Socialist can, will take their courage in their hands and stand forth for their Country's Good as above their Country's Figure-Head; their Country's steady, wholesome evolution into a truly great, not a flashily imitative power, balanced by the judgment of her wisest men, who shall legislate for her, in a really representative Parliament.

But that day of national independence can only be attained if the German people of every class establish for themselves a far higher standard of individual responsibility than now obtains from one end of their land to the other. The capacity to consider any question impersonally has well-nigh disappeared amongst the men, and in the women it never existed. Long generations of petty inspections, of dwelling upon details, of overtaxed nerves, of sleeping in close air, of lack of vigorous exercise, of inferior meat foods and abnormal drinking of beer, have made them a loose-muscled people physically, a churlish people temperamentally, and an amazingly childish people when face to face with large issues. "The Germans," said a recent writer, "are not politically educated in proportion to their intelligence; on the contrary, no one intimately acquainted with this country can have failed to notice that highly cultivated Germans frequently display an astonishing lack of judgment in regard to political affairs."

He might have said, with equal truth, that they are not in anything "educated in proportion to their intelligence." They who are "intimately acquainted with this country" can but agree with the author of a book which has gone into a thirty-sixth edition, in which he exclaims of his countrymen: "The German Peo-

ple in its present system of education may be said to be over-ripe, but, in reality, this over-ripeness is only un-ripeness; for compared with culture, the uncouth is always unripe; and in Germany, systematic, scientific, drilled-in barbarism has, from time immemorial, been at home. 'You know our Germany,' Reuchlin once wrote to Manutius, 'it has not yet ceased to be uncultivated'; and one honest German might still, to-day, write the same words to another."\*

Reuchlin, the learned, the ambassador to Italy in the fifteenth century, professor at Tübingen, remarkable man in everything that he undertook, was perhaps the best judge of the characteristics of his country of that period; and his judgment is singularly ratified, five hundred years later, by Humboldt, who said: "I was eighteen years old and was as good as incapable of anything. If I had remained in our schools I should have been totally ruined."

What Reuchlin meant, what Humboldt meant, and what the writer just quoted means, is not that the German boy and young man has not "gone to school," has not "done his lessons" every week-day and Sunday morning—for in Germany there is no holiday on Saturday, as in America, and no half-holiday on Wednesday, as in England—and, bespectacled, stoop-shouldered, yellow-faced and weary-eyed, "passed" his various "*Staatsexamen*" (state-examinations); but that when all that is at an end, next to nothing has been done for the *manhood* of him; that he has not been developed from the center to the circumference of his being; has not been rounded out; that an untrained tempera-

ment, an unrefined spirit, nay, coarseness and a rude and discourteous bearing are his characteristics; that, even of his intellectual faculties, one entire set, namely, his reasoning powers, has been absolutely ignored. He emerges, therefore, a maimed, unfinished creature, *well-nigh impervious to a lofty view of anything*.

Let anyone who looks below the surface take the trouble to scrutinize the branches of instruction prescribed in the State-schools and he will find that logic, elementary and advanced, is absent from the curriculum; and that the absence in the normal or teachers' course is the more conspicuous by the comically cautious bits and thin layers incorporated therein.

The omission is, of course, intentional. To be taught to *reason* would develop individuality, and individuality, strong personality, is exactly what Germany does *not* desire to see developed. A reasoning boy would become an independent-thinking man, and from all such Germany, "in these days," prays the good Lord to deliver her.

When, therefore, the same author adds: "The Germans of to-day are not, indeed, slaves; but to say that they are really free human beings would be a too daring assumption. . . . They are only partially well-bred, still less are they refined. For their education is *ungenuine*, and the spurious is never refined"†—his meaning is patent to every foreigner and to the inhabitants of every country that Germans visit.

"*Because their education is ungenuine*"—exactly!

*Ungenuineness* is the false note in the modernization of Germany, from the highest to the lowest stratum of the social

\* "Das deutsche Volk ist in seiner jetzigen Bildung unreif; aber im Grunde ist diese Überreife nur ein Ureife; denn der Bildung gegenüber ist die Barbarei stets unreif; und in Deutschland ist die systematische, die wissenschaftliche, die gebildete Barbarei von jeher zu Hause gewesen. 'Du kennst unser Deutschland; es hat noch nicht aufgehört ungebildet zu sein,' schrieb einst Reuchlin an Manutius, und könnte auch heute noch ein ehrlicher Deutscher dem andern schreiben." From *Rembrandt als Erzieher*,

von Einem Deutschen. Page 3. Verlag von C. L. Hirschfeld, Leipzig, 1891.

† "Skafen sind die jetzigen Deutschen nun zwar nicht; aber dass sie wirklich freie Menschen sind, wäre eine zu gewagte Behauptung. . . . 'Wohlerzogen' nur theilweise, und 'feine' noch weniger. Denn ihre Bildung ist unecht, und das Unecht ist nie fein." From *Rembrandt als Erzieher*, von Einem Deutschen. Pages 200 and 203. Leipzig, 1891.

order. And unguine at home, from its foundations upwards—for what lies closer to the structural fiber of a people than its system of education?—how can a country but be “spurious” in its relations with other countries?

Nor can anyone who lives close to the heart of the world's events and who has seen himself, little by little, forced to give up his old respect, nay, in many instances his veneration, for the land of Luther and Goethe, Humboldt and Bismarck, Bach and Helmholtz, but perceive that Germany in international dealings is Germany at her worst.

Whether by connivance in holding back freedom and progress in Russia; whether when a guest, intruding upon State reserves, in the fortress of Gibraltar, and when discovered ramming a hole into a warship in the harbor; whether in behaving shiftily in keeping the terms of the treaty made with the Powers at Morocco; whether in selling guns to the insurgents in Cuba, last year, and this year in inciting the Japanese in Tokio and California against the United States, while pretending fulsome friendship for the United States,—in each and every case Germany leaves a trail of deceit and ungentlemanhood behind.

“For their education is unguine” —the words surely represent a fact, else how could a people suffer itself to be so dishonored abroad?

Again, how veracious is the description, “unguine,” the events which preceded and forced on the recent general election exemplify. Here is a country of something like sixty million inhabitants, of whom every man over twenty-five, who is not an idiot or a pauper, is entitled to a vote. These voters send 397 members to the Reichstag or Parliament, and 58 spokesmen to the Bundesrath or Federal Council. Every voter is in himself a living link in the defense of his country, since he himself has served, and his son will have to serve, in the ranks or on the officers' staff of the army. He knows well what a United Germany cost

in sacrifice and bravery, in blood and mourning, and that the awful reckoning was paid but thirty-seven years ago. On the walls of many houses still hang swords which were carried in that agonizing winter of 1870. Yet, with few exceptions, throughout the entire citizens class, or *Bürgerthum*, neither young men nor old men take the faintest interest in the doings of the Parliament which grew out of the Union; they know nothing of the character or the capacity of the Members; to few of the nominally 100,000 inhabitants apportioned to each Voting Division, or *Wahlkreis*, is even the name of the man who represents them familiar; and this applies to the school-teachers of every grade, not excepting the headmasters and masters in the Gymnasiums and Real-Gymnasiums; it is, indeed, especially true of these, since they are forbidden by law to discuss public questions! As for the 58 Spokesmen in the Federal Council, I doubt whether ten out of every twenty thousand in the Voting Districts have ever given a thought to their actual, corporeal, influential, decision-making existence.

In the lower classes social democracy has found the means of arousing opposition and activity; but it is on the whole the energy of despair. While university professors, and now and then a painter among artists, occasionally exhibit intelligent interest in public questions, the clergy and literary men let them slip by with that negative, stereotyped woodenness only to be found in the German Philistine. Journalists, being bought and sold by the Government, count for nothing as human beings *per se*; they are merely necessary machines, worked by royal and bureaucratic wires. Single exceptions, as just said, occur in each of these classes, but they are rare, so rare as to accentuate the rule. Thus, when it comes to a question of such vital importance to an already over-taxed people as the bestowal of 29,500,000 marks, in addition to the millions already squandered upon a small Protectorate in South-



west Africa, dignified by the high-sounding title of *Colonies* (*Colonien*), the people themselves were as incapable of considering it upon its own merits as children-in-arms, and were entirely at the mercy of political factions, who told them that not to vote the millions would be to show themselves disloyal, and to vote for them was to cover themselves with glory as "faithful subjects of the Empire." The chief argument throughout the speeches, from the day of the dissolution to the day of the elections, from those of the Chancellor and of the Director of the Protectorate Department to those of the penny-a-liners of the paid press, was that if the millions were not forthcoming, Germany and the Emperor would be rendered ridiculous in the eyes of other nations! A lofty argument, truly, but wholly in accordance with the dictum: "For their education is un-genuine." How "spurious," they realize who have seen the chicaneries practiced in regard to the so-called "Colonies." A Berlin daily paper, one of the chief organs of the Protectorate Department, in its frantic endeavors to whip up voters gave out that "gold" had suddenly been found in them; then, as the *Bürger* did not even look up from their beer, it devised a "diamond-field"; but still the citizens were but languidly aroused, for there were no "diamonds" to show; then it arranged a full-page set of illustrations, in which "cotton," "ivory," "skins of animals," "bananas," "tea," "cocoa," "dates," "rubber," "hemp," "oil," "copper," "timber," "lemons," and "oranges" were piled up in stately heaps and emblazoned as "Important National Products Furnished by the Colonies"—but an evasively worded phrase below them, in small type, when extricated from the surrounding obscurity, showed that the imposing array of products was indeed "furnished by Colonies," but mainly by colonies belonging to Great Britain and the Congo Free State, Germany importing large quantities and sending them to Hamburg, Lübeck,

Bremen and Stettin, as "products furnished by the Colonies."

When taxed with the deception the reply of a German would be that "in time" (*mit der Zeit*) these large quantities would be "produced in our Colonies."

It is a deception so infantile that an American school-boy would laugh at it. But the American school-boy is taught the truth about his country. He knows its geographical and commercial worth, the value and character of its importations and possessions. He has good reason to know the facts and to know them accurately, for he may have a part, perhaps a large part, in the administration of all those national and international interests; whereas the German *Bürger* knows just so much, and in just such manner, as the authority (*Behörde*) above him desires him to know, his part in the body politic being to be conscripted at twenty-one and to pay enormous taxes ever after. He thinks out nothing for himself, not even the trivialities of daily life. From the hour at which he is to lock his door at night, to the year, month, day, hour, and portion of that hour when he is to present himself to the said *Behörde* and begin to trot around a drill-ground, everything is *vorgeschrieben*. How should, then, the sixty millions of people who send the 397 members to the Reichstag but be bewildered when suddenly called upon to have an opinion involving, as they are told, not only nineteen hundred and eighty-five million marks' worth of "products furnished by the Colonies," but "loyalty or disloyalty"?

Elections under circumstances such as these become merely farcical manipulations prescribed, under normal conditions, to take place every five years, and under abnormal conditions, whenever anger at being thwarted makes itself felt from above.

Nor has it, apparently, yet occurred to the electors or to the elected that if 397 members sufficed to represent forty millions, the population in 1871, at least one-half as many more should be added

to adequately represent sixty millions.

A foreigner might infer that the system of voting was too complicated for the comprehension of "the man in the street," but save for one or two Teutonic ramifications of detail it resembles that pursued in every constitutional country.

It might also be supposed that a Federal Union made up of 26 States, with 58 representatives in its Council, of which one of the States, Prussia, sends 17, or *seventeen times as many as any other single State*, save Bavaria, which sends six, Saxony and Württemberg which send four, Baden and Hessen, which send three, Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Braunschweig, which send two each,—it might be supposed that such an overwhelming preponderance would excite activity at least to the extent of curiosity, to ascertain what Prussia intended from year to year *to vote one's own State into!* For it is to that that the said preponderance amounts. In no other civilized country of the universe would so gigantic an advantage be permitted to one State over its sister States. That it is submitted to by Germans with lamb-like acquiescence, not to say atrophy, exemplifies the ignorant indifference to national dignity on the part of the mass of the people. Suppose Massachusetts should say to California, "I did more to free the slaves before the Civil war than you did, therefore I shall send seventeen Senators to Washington, but you may send only six." Or, "Virginia and I were the first settlements in the United States, we are the nucleus of America, we shall therefore send forty-eight Senators to Washington, but all of the other States may send but one each, save Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, which may send three, and North and South Carolina, which may send two each."

What would be the reply of the sane Californian and the indignant citizens of all the other States? Surely: "We are united in quality, not by quantity of privilege, and upon that our Union is based."

And the day must certainly come when Bavaria, older, more thoroughly German than Prussia; when Württemberg, Braunschweig, Hessen, Anhalt, and all the other German States will open their political eyes to the childish servility of their present position; when Hanover will demand back her stolen birthright, and become in name as she has never ceased to be in reality, a sovereignty, more truly German in fiber and impulse than Prussia—a mushroom kingdom, dating only from the middle of the seventeenth century—with its Slavonic, Polish, Masuric, Kassubic, Lithuanian, Courlandish, Czech, Mährisch, Wendish and Walloon mixtures, could ever hope to be.

Who can doubt that if Hanover were to place her claim to recovery of her robbed throne before a tribunal of the European Powers and America, she would be upheld, and the King of Hanover, whose house antedates that of Hohenzollern by half a thousand years, would take his place, where he belongs, in the Federal Council, side by side with the King of Saxony, the King of Bavaria and the King of Württemberg? This would be the natural, the just, the only conclusive settlement of the *Brunswick Succession Question*, which again this year crops up to arouse bitter feeling.

"If I had to choose between a United Germany and the Hohenzollern Family," Prince Hohenlohe represents Bismarck to have said, "I should let the Hohenzollerns go whistle!" and every upright German heart must echo the deep significance underlying the jesting words. For it was for a union of racial qualities, racial ideals, heartily, worthily, vitally bound together in one *German*, not one *Prussian Empire* that men fought in 1870; not for the purpose of elevating a Hohenzollern King to an Imperial throne, though that King were the brave, kindly, modest, healthful-minded old soldier, William the First.

A comic incident of the recent elections was the declaring of 1,365 Conservative votes invalid, because the name of the

candidate, Herr *Reinhardt*, was incorrectly spelled. Either a *d* was left out, or a *t* did not appear, though each omission leaves the name intact; though there was no Herr *Reinhard*, with a *d*, and no Herr *Reinhart*, with a *t*, with whom Herr *Reinhardt*, of both *d* and *t*, could be confused; though it was not pretended that anyone but the candidate of the *d* and the *t* could be meant; yet correctly spelled on 1,365 voting slips he was not, and so to him those votes were lost. And yet Germans wonder why foreigners laugh!

Within the Reichstag, existence, until one obtains the clue, appears chaotic. Eleven different *Parteien*, or Parties, address the *President*, or Speaker. The innumerable divisions puzzle the Anglo-Saxon observer, who sees no reason for more than two strong parties in any parliamentary country. That business in the House should go forward at all, with Conservatives, Agrarians, National-Liberals, Anti-Semites, Radicals, Ultramontanes, Polish Nationalists, Social Democrats, Alsatians, Danish Nationalists, and Guelphs, is matter for wonder. The wonder is increased by the fact that the Radicals consist of three, the Conservatives of two, the Agrarians of two, and the Anti-Semites of three groups. None of the "Parties" appear to realize that this detached condition of things is a deterrent factor in their country's progress and that a Parliament occupied with such small differences is likely to lose sight of the great reasons for its existence as a Parliament. The two largest parties, the Center, or Ultramontanes, and the Social Democrats, whose coalition outwitted the Chancellor, are a striking contrast to one another. The former is made up of Catholic land-owners, Catholic priests (for clerics sit in the Reichstag) and Catholic journalists. Their strength lies in the unanimity, and as they return after the recent elections with four new constituencies and no losses, their number—increased to 108, almost a third of the whole House—will remain

a formidable menace to the Chancellor's next plans. Should they unite with the Polish Nationalists, for instance, or again with the Social Democrats, the combination could easily outvote any other that the Chancellor is likely to invent; for the National-Liberals and the Radicals are an uncertain quantity in any measure which involves fraternity with the Conservatives. It remains to be seen whether occasion for a trial of strength will be given them; but that the outrage of last summer and the events in East and West Prussia will be forgotten, is not likely. Their most brilliant orator and, at the moment, most prominent member, is Herr Erzberger, to whose efforts the exposure of the dishonesty in the Department of the Protectorate and the dismissal of the Minister, Podbieski, are due.

The Social Democrats are equally unanimous and are composed of the poorest and the struggling well-to-do working-people in the manufacturing districts of North, and especially South, Germany; of the mechanics in the large towns and the small shop-keepers in the cities, who have forcibly emancipated themselves from as many forms of muzzling as are consistent with spending their days at home, instead of under restraint, for *Majestäts*—and other—*Beleidigungen*. Their opposition, though always vigorous, is not, as just said, always intelligent, for the sufferer from hunger, the protester against infinitesimal wages with long hours, and the embittered fanatic are often blinded by hate. But they do endless good in a country so dead in political energy as is Germany, and they constantly improve in quality and self-control. Their organization is wonderful. For nine years they have held all the six Voting Divisions of Berlin, save one, the First, in which the Castle and several Palaces are situated. That one, in the Berlin tongue, has been "saved" from them (*gerettet*), less by that august circumstance than by the manipulations of police authority; for it is plain to the least instructed observer that the streets

behind the "*Schloss*" and along the canal to the north form one of the supply grounds of the party. How greatly they are feared is constantly manifested in the daily press which, by command, loses no opportunity to speak slurringly of them. The dread on the part of the Government has increased during the past five years, because many university students and several professors are known to incline to Socialistic principles. When they lose a district, the loss is heralded from north to south, with prognostications of their decline and covert sneers at their leaders. But the Socialists smile, as they may well afford to do; for with all their blunders and exaggerations—and these are many—they are, as just said, the only forceful element in the public life of the country. They enter the new Reichstag with eight additional, and the loss of several former, seats; but the losses for the most part go to their political next of kin, the Radicals, and their position in the House, as numerically next to the Center, remains unchanged.

Their leader, Herr August Bebel, is a carpenter who at the age of twenty became the chairman of an association for the education of workingmen, was elected to the North German Reichstag in 1867, and has sat in the reorganized All-German Reichstag continuously since 1883,—that is, for nearly a quarter of a century. He is, without exception, the ablest speaker in the House and by far the most influential party chief in the Empire; yet his speeches are never reported in full, and the portions given out are invariably preceded or followed by a line or a phrase of would-be contempt. Every effort is made to minimize the effect of his eloquence and telling common-sense, but he is personally too highly respected, and publicly too powerful, to be frowned down. His long fight of twenty-five years has developed in him a grim humor

which enables him to shake off stings with a good-natured gibe and pass on to the great object of his life, the moulding of the Reichstag into a Parliament really representative of the people.

Nevertheless certain insults defy oblivion; and they who were called by an enraged Royalty "fellows who have no country" (*Vaterlandslose Gesellen*), do not forget the phrase. That it should be dreamed that they would, or could, and that three years afterwards they would tamely submit to be browbeaten into voting for that Royalty's latest caprice, is but one more indication of the false strain in Germany's modern life, and verification of the words, "For their education is ungenuine, and the spurious is never refined."

"*Furcula Caudine*"—"the Caudine Pass," quoted a Member of the Reichstag, and not a Socialist, in the excited days before the dissolution; and "the Caudium Yoke dangling near" added another,—a strange quotation to occur to men as appropriate to themselves in the beginning of the twentieth century! But the events of the past ten months have, as the best friends of National Unity believe, prepared the way for preventing the fastening of the Yoke, which the country as a whole has at last begun to perceive as threatening its dignity,—the Yoke of Imperial Whim, Imperial Jealousy, Imperial Vanity, as contrasted with *National Welfare*, *National Healthful Progress*.

The Twelfth Reichstag of United Germany, then, opens with an entirely new impetus; emerging from the nursery to manhood's stage of Parliamentary and political independence. And every onlooker who believes well-balanced manhood to be the finest thing this earth affords will wish it and its future God-speed!

MAYNARD BUTLER.

Prussia.



# THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

BY PROFESSOR EDWIN MAXEY, LL.D.

THE SPEECH from the Throne, February 13, 1907, has again brought into the foreground of English politics the question of readjusting the relation between the two Houses of the British Parliament. It is not surprising that the following sentences should have caused some consternation in the upper House: "Serious questions affecting the working of our parliamentary system have arisen from the unfortunate differences between the two Houses. My ministers have this important subject under consideration with a view to a solution of the difficulty."

That we may the better appreciate the force of this language, it is well that we examine with some care the legislation upon the subject which is responsible for the present strained relations between the Commons and Lords. For the question upon which they are divided is by no means a new one. The rock upon which they may split has not been raised above the surface by any sudden seismic movement. The question of the degree of control which the State should exercise over the public-schools, or, if you please, to what extent public education should be secularized, has for a long time been one of considerably more than purely academic interest. In other words, it has been a question of practical politics almost from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Yet a review of what has been done during the past century will give us a sufficiently clear idea of the genesis of the present trouble.

In 1807 the Whitbread Bill passed the House of Commons. This provided for a school in each parish supported and controlled by the taxpayers. It would have provided England with a national system of education similar to that pos-

sessed by other leading countries. But the clerical influence in the House of Lords was too strong to permit of any such dangerous and revolutionary innovations, hence the bill was defeated. The fate of this bill seems to have discouraged further action in the same direction for over half a century. But finally in 1870 the Liberal party under the leadership of Gladstone succeeded in getting through a bill which provided for a system of schools supported by taxes and controlled by school boards elected by the various school districts. While this was a compromise and would of course in the end prove unsatisfactory, it was a move in the right direction and was a decided advance over what had previously existed. Perhaps the strangest thing connected with this measure is that the House of Lords, in which the Conservative party is always in control, should have accepted it. Yet at that time they did not seem to have so exalted an idea of their prerogatives as at present, or it may be that Gladstone had a more convincing way of expounding their constitutional rights than has Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. At any rate the Lords yielded and for more than thirty years the system thus established worked fairly well.

But in 1902 the Conservatives felt themselves so strongly entrenched in power that it seemed to them safe to enact any legislation which pleased their fancy. Acting upon this conviction, they changed the school law so as to increase the control of the Established Church over the public-schools. This was effected by substituting for the school boards elected by the district, committees appointed by the county and municipal government. This made it easier for the Conservatives, in which the clerical

element is strong, to dominate the committees, determine the curriculum, and in short to manage the schools.

In districts where the Non-conformists were in the majority this domination by the Established Church was particularly distasteful. So much so that many of them refused to pay taxes for the support of the schools in which, now, instruction was given to which they were conscientiously and uncompromisingly opposed. Those who had property permitted it to be distrained rather than pay what they conceived to be an unjust tax, and those who had no property preferred imprisonment to submission. While it is impossible to gauge exactly the effect of different governmental acts in deciding elections, there can be no mistake in concluding that the unprecedented Liberal victory of last year was due in large part to the stand taken by the Balfour government with reference to the control of the public-schools.

As reform in the public-school system was one of the issues in the campaign, upon coming into power the Liberal party proceeded to redeem its pledge. For this purpose the Birrell Bill was introduced and passed by the Commons by a decided majority. The essential features of this bill are: abolition of religious tests for teachers, exclusion of all particular forms of catechism, and, what was of prime importance, it placed all schools supported by taxes under public control.

From this it will be seen that the bill does not exclude the teaching of the Bible from the public-schools, but simply all denominational interpretations of it. It is very doubtful if a majority of the English people would favor the exclusion of all teaching of the Bible from the public-schools, and it is certain that a majority disapproves of the present tests which have resulted in practically all teachers in the public-schools being members of the Church of England. That schools supported by the public should be controlled by the public, and not by the Church, seems so natural and self-evident to Americans as not to admit of argument.

When the Birrell Bill went to the House of Lords, that body immediately proceeded to impress upon it its personality. Before the bill was sent back to the Commons it had been changed to such an extent as to be even more reactionary than the Balfour Act of 1902, just as though the recent elections had resulted in a Conservative victory. It would seem that either the House of Lords had not heard of what happened at the recent elections, or that they applied to those results a rule of interpretation peculiar to themselves, or that they did not care what took place in the elections. The latter is by far the more reasonable conclusion to reach. In other words, the conclusion is almost irresistible that the will of the people is as regards this question a matter of indifference to the House of Lords.

There is therefore a great deal more involved in the present dispute than the expediency or in expediency of a change in the school law. The issue goes to the very foundation of the British government. In a very practical way it raises the question whether or not the House of Lords, as at present constituted, is not so far out of harmony with the democratic spirit of the majority of the English people as to be intolerable? Many of us on this side the Atlantic could answer this question with but ten minutes' reflection and be absolutely sure that we were correct.

But the question is not one to be answered in any such cavalier fashion. To the mind of the Englishman, unlike that of the Frenchman, government is not something to be considered in the abstract but is an organism whose roots reach deep into the past and can only be understood historically. The weight which the Englishman attaches to traditions is therefore a factor which must not be left out of account in considering a question of this sort. A scheme of government which leaves out of account the mental constitution of the people to whom it is applied is of use as furnishing an index to the type of mind which de-

vised it, but its usefulness ends at that point.

Given the perennial regard of the English nation for traditions and its instinctive respect for nobility, it is safe to conclude that the continued existence of the House of Lords even as at present constituted is in no immediate danger provided that body is content to share with the Crown the office of representing the dignity of the realm and leave the Commons to represent the power. But if not satisfied to play this harmless rôle, it insists upon asserting its prerogatives and exercising power. In short, if it insists upon challenging the House of Commons to a test of strength, we need not be surprised to find such pretensions followed by their logical consequences—important changes in the English Constitution.

The present challenge, for it clearly is a challenge, may not be accepted. The Commons may conclude that the present is not an opportune time to force the issue. The fact that the Irish Nationalists, a large contingent of the majority party which on most questions vote solidly with the Liberals are solidly opposed to them on this question may tend to dissuade the Premier from forcing the issue upon this question. The additional fact that the present Premier is not a preëminently great and aggressive leader and his advanced years increase the probability of a compromise rather than a decisive battle.

If, however, the Premier should decide that the present time and the education question are as good as any for the purpose of determining whether or not the growth of democratic ideas in England have in fact shorn the Lords of their ancient prerogatives, he will dissolve Parliament and appeal to the people for a mandate upon the question. Should a majority be returned to the House of Commons favoring his view, the House of Lords might then conclude that as it cannot be popular it should at least be politic and yield, otherwise a reorganization of that ancient institution of government would no doubt be begun at once.

How thoroughgoing the reorganization would be would of course depend upon the temper of the Commons and the character of its leaders. The mildest form which it could take would be the addition of a sufficient number of peers to change the present minority into a majority. This, however, would be but a temporary expedient. It would simply increase the unwieldiness of a body that is already too large to be a really deliberative assembly. What is needed, and what must eventually come, is a fundamental change in its constitution that will make it representative of the people and not of classes.

Whatever reason there may once have been for providing that the clergy as such should be entitled to a certain number of seats in a national legislative body, the evolution of ideas of government has caused that reason to disappear. We are no longer in the ecclesiastical stage of political development. Men no longer have confidence in one's ability as a legislator simply because his devoutness and learning in theology have entitled him to a sacerdotal robe. The political experience of mankind has made it clear that the qualifications for priesthood are not necessarily a guarantee of ability in statecraft. In fact it has proven that they do not generally go together, that the type of mind which qualifies for the one disqualifies for the other.

That the landed gentry as such should exercise so powerful an influence in the legislation of Great Britain is at present without any adequate justification. The justification it once had, if indeed it ever was justified, has been rapidly disappearing before the industrial development of the nation. While it is usual for changes in laws to lag behind the changes in social or industrial conditions upon which they rest, it is dangerous for an institution which is out of harmony with existing ideas and conditions to presume too much upon mere inertia.

EDWIN MAXEY.

*University of Nebraska,  
Lincoln, Neb.*



## THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND STATE LIQUOR LAWS.

BY FINLEY C. HENDRICKSON.

WHEN Mr. Root, Secretary of State, speaking, as many believe, for the policy of the Administration, declared that the activity of the Federal Government to correct certain evils was because the States "no longer do adequately" what they formerly did, he failed to note, or admit, that the Federal Government which he lauded was itself constantly thwarting the will of people of the States and preventing the success, or even a fair trial, of State liquor laws.

The States have been active to rid themselves of the evils constantly flowing from the drink traffic. From the low license policy which generally prevailed in years past, a large per cent. of the States passed to the experiment of high license, and, despairing of success in dealing with the evils incident to the license system through direct State legislative action, generally left further changes in the policy to be pursued to the people themselves, with the result that, through the referendum the majority of the people of a number of States adopted prohibition and made it fundamental, some of which still retain the law, while through the extension of the referendum and local-option plan, the "dry" area in license States has been increased until more than 30,000,000 people are now living under prohibition and local-option laws. In addition to the "dry" area now existing, much area formerly placed in the "dry" column went back to some experiment under license, the people of such "dry" area finding themselves helpless against interstate shipments solely within the control of the Federal Government. A correct statistical table would likely show that nearly half the voters of the States have, at some time during the agitation of the temperance and prohibition ques-

tion declared for the abolition of the licensed liquor traffic.

That such an oft-expressed and persistent sentiment among the people of the States to rid themselves of the evils of the traffic should receive no recognition on the part of the Federal Government would be unbelievable except that the fact is before us mountain high. And worse still, that the powers of the Federal Government should be used, as they are, to strengthen lawlessness in the States and defeat the constitutionally expressed will of the people, presents an anomaly which, to do justice at home and preserve our honor abroad as representing a harmonious free government, cannot be corrected too soon. Despite all this, the Secretary of State felt it incumbent upon him to cast the first stone.

How has the Federal Government, since 1862, met the expression of the will of the people of the States in regard to the liquor question? By friendly cooperation? By making the taxing powers of the Federal Government comport with and support the police powers of the States? By frowning upon the enemies of State liquor laws? Unfortunately for all, just the opposite policy has been pursued. Under the Internal Revenue Acts of 1794 and 1813 respectively, the Federal Government was forbidden to recognize as legal under its taxing powers what the States prohibited under their reserved police powers. Under the War Revenue Measure of 1862 as interpreted by the Treasury Department, both these honorable precedents were spurned, and the Federal Government began a policy of obstruction to the success of State liquor laws which has continued to this day, a policy contrary to the spirit, if not the letter, of the constitution. The Treasury Department sells tax receipts

to applicants who conduct "joints," "blind tigers," and other illegal places for the sale of liquor in prohibition and local-option territory, as well as to "speak-easies" in license territory. No matter what policy the people of the States may choose the Federal Government, under the Act of 1862, acts in a manner to "disparage," contrary to the Ninth Amendment, the choice made. Not content with selling Tax Receipts to the lawless liquor element in the States, whereby the holders plead before juries they ought not to be convicted under State laws because they hold a "Government License" internal revenue collectors are prohibited by the Treasury Department from testifying in the State courts as to who are the holders of these Receipts, a rule the Department insists upon enforcing.

Not only that, but through the failure of Congress to pass the Littlefield-Dolliver measure, whereby the States would be permitted to exercise control of interstate shipments of prohibited liquors as soon as they reached the State border, the Federal Government has throughout the whole complex situation thrown its influence with the "outside nullifiers." Through the sale of Tax Receipts to the lawless *inside* prohibition and local-option territory, and permitting interstate

commerce to be used by the "nullifiers" of State liquor laws *outside* prohibition and local-option territory, the Federal Government has proven the bulwark and hope of those who sought and still seek to overthrow the will of the people of the States on this question. Despite all this obstruction and disparagement of their efforts, the people have gone steadily forward increasing the "dry" area of the States through the referendum, and their commendable activity in this respect should not be overlooked in any general criticism enumerating what the States have not done. It is only lately that the Federal Government awakened to the fact that burdensome evils grew and flourished at its own door, while the States have, through a period of agitation covering many years, gone steadily forward increasing the "dry" area, and did this often in the face of the argument that their sacrifice of revenue from license would be of little avail because they could not control interstate shipments. The hostile attitude of the Federal Government stands out more prominently when we reflect that, despite the lack of comity on its part, the States promptly support all rightful Federal authority.

FINLEY C. HENDRICKSON.

Cumberland, Md.

## THE MEANING OF CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

[BY WILLIAM D. McCrackan, A.M.,

First Reader of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts.

*Editorial Note:* The following paper on "The Meaning of Christian Science," by William D. McCrackan, A.M., will be of special interest to our old readers, who will remember his contributions to THE ARENA which appeared soon after it was founded. Mr. McCrackan had then recently returned from a sojourn of some years in Switzerland, whither he had gone to consult original sources of information for his comprehensive history of Switzerland. The series of papers which he prepared and which appeared in the early nineties, attracted general attention among the more thoughtful and fundamental thinkers.

Besides his admirable history, *The Rise of the Swiss Republic*, Mr. McCrackan is the author of several scholarly and interesting works.

At a time when so much space is being accorded in the magazines as well as the daily press to sensational and irresponsible articles on Christian Science and its founder, written by people whose ignorance of the fundamental teachings of Christian Science is as evident as is their hostility to it, the clear and thoughtful presentation of its meaning to those who understand and accept its teachings, prepared by so well known a representative as Mr. McCrackan, now First Reader of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts, will be welcomed by all thinkers whose sense of fairness and love of truth are greater than the thralldom of prejudice and preconceived opinions.—Editor of THE ARENA.



THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI.



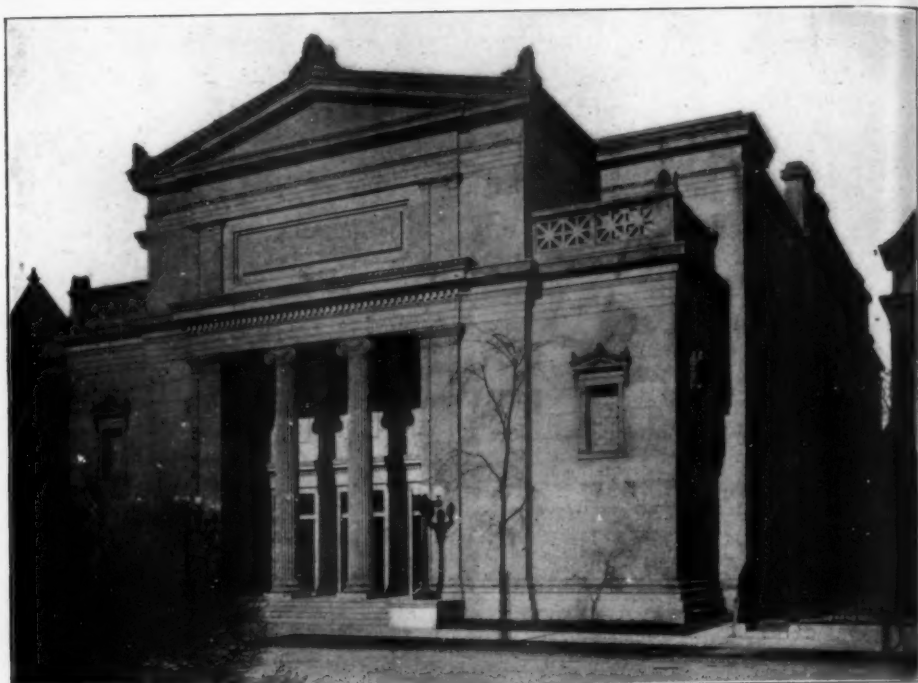


Photo. by J. W. Taylor.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.



M  
Go  
cur  
be  
ma  
hea  
ear  
I  
ods  
bas  
the  
anc  
It  
in  
hu  
be  
Th  
in  
do  
sel  
co  
fee



THE THIRD CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

**M**ANKIND has the right to ask and to receive at the hands of a just God the understanding necessary for the cure of all its troubles. It is entitled to be shown the correct way by which it may work out its own salvation, complete health, holiness and happiness, and "on earth peace, good will toward men."

But the question arises, are the methods of cure and reform commonly used based upon a correct understanding of the problems involved or of the proper and permanent results to be obtained? It is generally conceded that at no time in the world's history have reformatory, humanitarian and progressive impulses been more potent than they are to-day. The altruistic sense is expressing itself in a multitude of ways. The desire to do for others, to help them to help themselves, to bring cheer to the forlorn and comfort to the distressed, to set on their feet the disabled and incapacitated, in

a word, to heal the sick, save the sinner and comfort the sorrowing and bereaved, this earnest desire is more and more forcing men to seek a scientific solution for human woes and problems. The prevailing conviction among thinkers is that there must be first some special, satisfying explanation of existing conditions, then some complete method, some definite and precise way of meeting and mastering evil and revealing the kingdom of heaven on earth, here and now,—and there is such a way. To the greater part of mankind, however, this way is still unknown. The regrettable fact that current theories do not explain sufficiently, and that prevalent methods and means merely alleviate the distressing conditions of which mankind complains, without destroying them, is proof that more fundamental and radical treatment is necessary.

The experiences of those who have





THE FOURTH CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

tried to institute reforms have commonly run in grooves of hardship and disillusion. They have suffered, each in his or her way. Some have placed their ambitions on false phantoms, and consequently their desires have not borne the fruit they expected. They have been greatly disappointed in friends, in theories, in certain arts and sciences, in conventional charities; in reforms, social, political and economic, from which they hoped too much. They have thought in the still hours, pondered and wondered; perhaps they have been called upon to fight for their convictions. The best men seemed to fall, or at least to fail; right did not seem to conquer. Then can we be satisfied that the methods heretofore tried and the results so far obtained were right and proper, or in accord with divine justice?

Christian Science enables one to think along new lines, correct lines. It teaches a change of thought, making thought scientific. Think right and you will do right and be right! Be a man; take possession of yourself and do not let circumstances take possession of you! After that, turn around and help others to do the same!

Christian Scientists believe in wholesome happiness, and in its realization here and now. They desire to share this happiness with all men. They once sought satisfaction in other fields of endeavor, and in other ideals; now they find that this new interpretation of life which has come to them through the teachings of *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*, by Mary Baker G. Eddy makes them better men and women, more useful in their several occupations and stations in life. Can any-

Photo

one l  
of pe  
ing s  
tian  
strive  
with  
to be  
"P  
Scien  
may  
pers  
"Go  
can  
tian  
who  
But  
a si  
ever  
has  
Chri  
men  
almo  
even



Photo. by Taylor, Chicago.

THE FIFTH CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

one hope for more than an understanding of peace and plenty, health and an abiding sense of safety? This is what Christian Science gives and it equips those who strive for the mastery over false thinking with the necessary power and wisdom to help others along the same road.

"How can I learn about Christian Science?" asks the average reader. He may listen to many advisers before some person of good sense will say to him, "Go and see for yourself." Where else can anyone expect to learn what Christian Science really is except among those who already understand and practise it. But there is one thing needful, namely, a sincere desire. The impressions of every honest inquirer have value. If he has entered upon his investigation of Christian Science with a sense of needing mental, moral or physical health, he will almost invariably find himself benefited, even before knowing how it is done, in



Photo. by Taylor, Chicago.

ENTRANCE TO FIFTH CHURCH OF CHRIST.





Copyright, 1906, by Barrows, Boston.

DOMES OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

any case he will be impressed with the general air of happiness, health and intelligence which pervades the ranks of Christian Scientists. They are not taught to believe that spirituality is long-faced. They have as keen a sense of humor as any other group of people. In fact, joyousness and good nature characterize their attitude towards all men. Moreover, they grant to every critic full right to his own opinions, provided he does not try to make erroneous opinions appear to be theirs. In common with all other people, they demand that opinions shall be based upon correct statements of fact, and shall be honestly presented.

and Founder and her faithful followers have always thought it to be. On the contrary it is described as something quite different, which those who do not heal the sick nor reform the sinner by its means claim to have found out for themselves. Hence the need, for the sake of the public, of correcting erroneous expression of opinion which may appear from time to time in public prints.

Indeed, before describing what Christian Science means and the way it takes, it is generally found advisable to rectify popular misconceptions. Thus, Christian Science does not teach the exercise of what is commonly known as human

Unfortunately a curious feature of the hour is the attempt on the part of some who do not practise Christian Science themselves to try to persuade the public that Christian Scientists do not know what they are doing. After more than forty years of the stately operations of Christian Science, after the healing of multitudes by this method from every sort of disease, after the blotting out of countless sins by its means and the comforting of hosts of the weary, forlorn and friendless by its ministrations; after it has reached the four quarters of the globe through its good deeds, comes a vain and futile assertion that Christian Science is not what its Discoverer



Copyright, 1906, by Ezra W. Reid, Boston.

INTERIOR OF THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

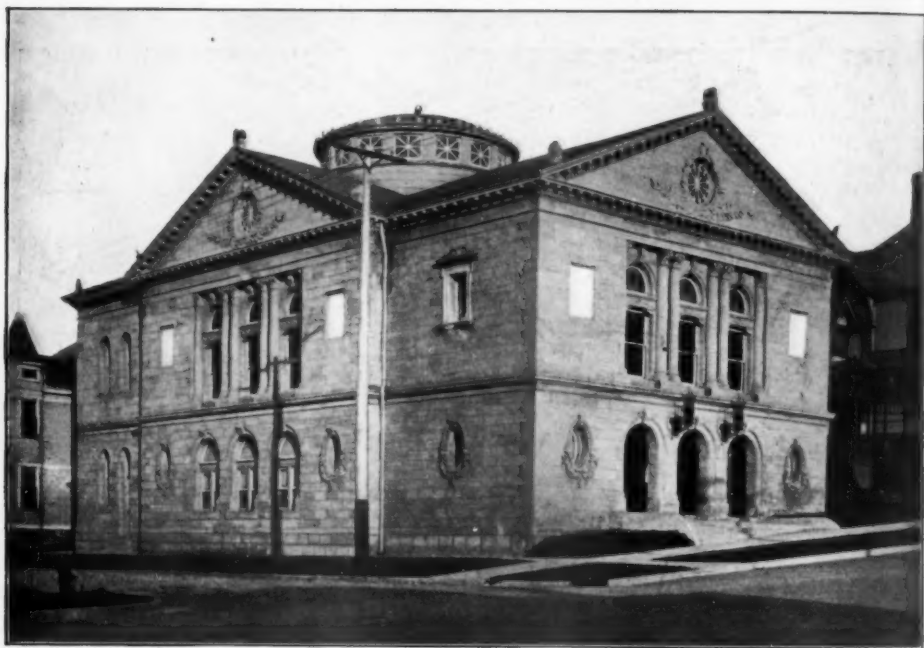
will power. It is not *willing* anybody to do anything whatsoever. Christian Scientists declare the divine will concerning the patient or the problem and leave the issue to that will and to no other. The divine will is ascertained by understanding God spiritually, by recognizing and realizing Him as wholly good, without a "shadow of turning," and drawing inevitable deductions logically from this superb premise.

This spiritual reasoning which Christian Science demands is neither mesmeric, magnetic nor hypnotic, but calm, exalted and assured. It literally signifies *pure reason* and is based on an absolute Principle, God, who is Spirit or Mind. It constructs its argument naturally, normally and scientifically to inevitable and beneficent conclusions bearing healing on its wings. The practice of Chris-

tian Science is prayer in the Scriptural sense of the word, *i. e.*, it is scientific realization of Truth rather than blind petition to an unknown god.

The teachings of Christian Science have been fully set forth in the writings of Mrs. Eddy. They have been further explained in accordance with these writings from the lecture platform, in the weekly and monthly periodicals of the Christian Science denomination, and, as occasion has demanded, also in the public press. This information is accessible to all who really desire it.

Christian Scientists hold that God is the only Creator, and that the universe which He created is eternal and real. Paul, the great Apostle, divided sharply between the eternal (real) and the temporal (unreal),—and so do they. The reader is referred specially to the last



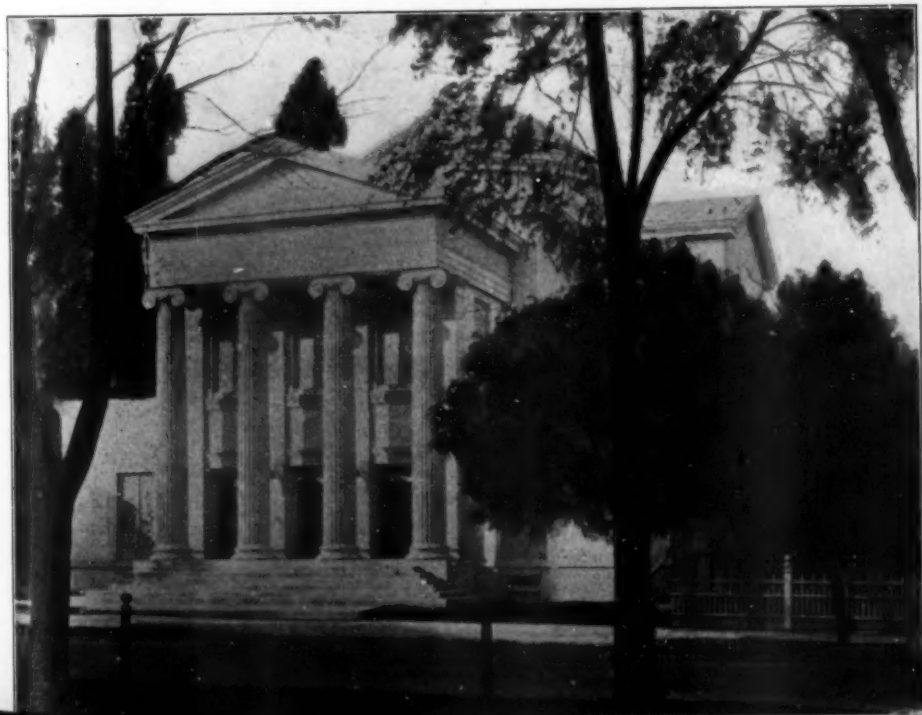
Photo, by Mills, Peoria, Ills.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, PEORIA, ILLINOIS.





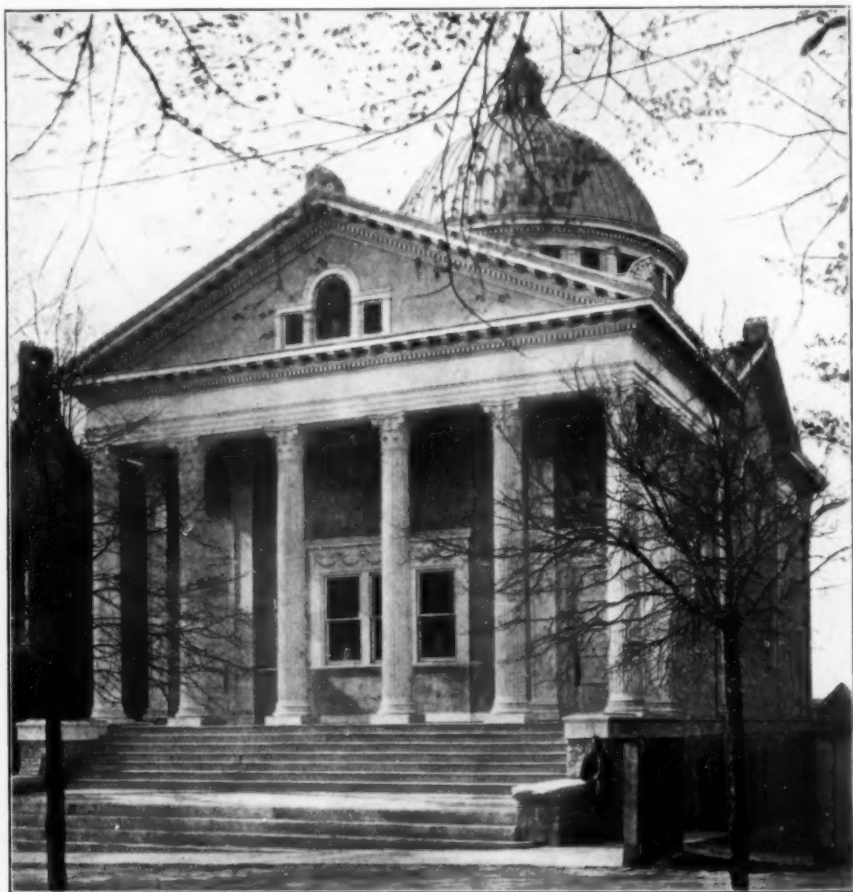
THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, DETROIT, MICHIGAN.



verse of Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Whatever phenomena, then, show the qualities of eternity and indestructibility they call real; but phenomena which reveal themselves as passing manifestations only, and exhibit signs of decay and death, they class among the unreal. Disease, fortunately, cannot be counted among the eternal and indestructible manifestations of the universe, or chaos would ensue. Disease is, therefore, unreal in this metaphysical sense, and only in this sense do Christian Scientists deny its existence.

The same reasoning applies to the concept called sin. If it is eternal and in-

destructible, then man is lost indeed. But Christian Science shows evil of every kind to be temporary, and thus unreal in the metaphysical sense, so that it may be overcome, (*i. e.*, reduced to nonentity in the human consciousness) by the power of God. Christian Scientists do not, then, deny the existence of disease, of the material body and of sin, as universal beliefs of the human race, but they affirm the unreality of these concepts; using the word "unreality" in its metaphysical sense. Christian Science explicitly teaches the doctrine of the crucifixion, the resurrection and the ascension, but it lays special stress upon the distinction be-



THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, ATLANTA, GEORGIA.





Photo. by Snyder, Cleveland, O.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

tween the man Jesus and his title of "The Christ." It does not teach the worship of the man Jesus, but of his Principle, God. Jesus did, indeed, suffer on the cross, but the Christ, the expression of his divinity, could not be made to suffer or die.

Those who hope for the cure of social and economic maladies through organized charities may be surprised to find that the Christian Science denomination, as such, rarely records the activities of its members in this particular field of endeavor. Individual Christian Scientists are doing much charity work of the usual sort in a quiet way, notably in some of the great prisons of this country where their services are welcomed. But their principal charity work is on lines which have never been fully carried out by any group of reformers since the days of primitive Christianity. The almsgiving

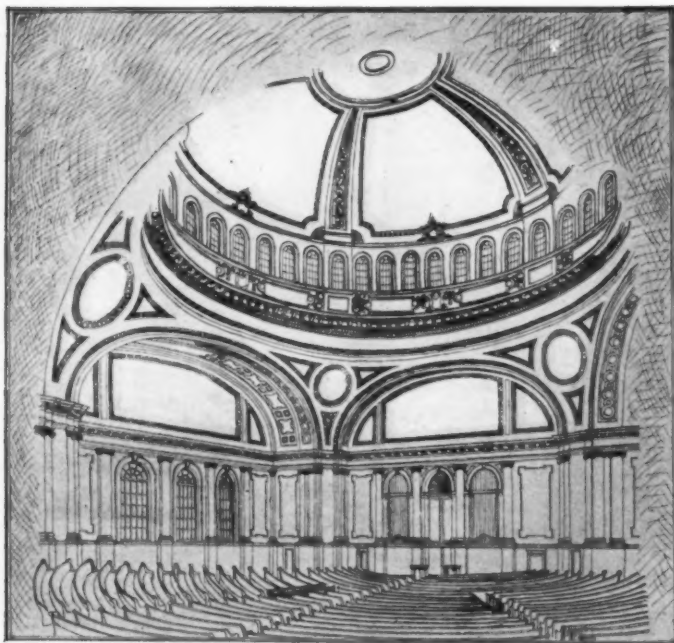
methods have been tried for centuries, have been organized with the utmost skill, have enlisted the efforts of many noble men and women,—and yet sickness, poverty and crime continue. Now Christian Science is showing a new way and one which has already proved itself successful in numberless cases. Christian Scientists are not only destroying the causes of poverty, but are also spending large sums in erecting what are virtually free dispensaries which are in keeping with their faith. They call them churches and reading-rooms, and the latter are open every day, and there those who are afflicted can find help in the most enduring way by learning to draw nearer to God, the source of all health, supply and holiness. There the Bible and Christian Science literature, which certain critics profess to find so expensive, can be read free of charge by all who choose



A. F. Rosenheim, Architect.

THE SECOND CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

(In course of construction.)

INTERIOR OF THE SECOND CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST,  
LOS ANGELES.

to come, year in and year out. Seats in the churches are free, and strangers are given the best attention, as a practical illustration of brotherly love. No Christian denomination can do more for visitors, display greater generosity, or extend a heartier welcome.

The stipulated fee for Christian Science treatment is very small. Practical experience shows that many patients feel that they can pay nothing, while others pay what they think they can afford. But the law of compensation holds good in healing as in all other





THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

work, and experience has proven, not only to Christian Scientists but also to all groups of reformers everywhere, that almsgiving brings no permanent cure of erroneous conditions. Moreover, anyone who should attempt to heal by Christian Science methods for mercenary motives would shortly lose the power to heal altogether.

Concerning the occasional failures of Christian Scientists, there is this to be said: A large percentage of the reports which are circulated through the newspapers have been found by actual investigation to repose upon errors of some kind. When the great number of cures which are effected by Christian Science are set over against the few cases of actual failures by Christian Scientists, the showing is in every way remarkable; especially since most of the cases which

come to them have previously experienced failure under material treatment. The failures of *materia medica* fill the obituary columns of the daily press without exciting comment, whereas at one time a single failure of a Christian Scientist used to be heralded far and wide as a sensational event.

In spite of every effort on the part of the critics of Christian Science to be fair, it is evident that a closer understanding of its aims and its practice is required than a hostile outsider can possibly possess. To this lack may be attributed some of the errors made by the writers of articles and items in the periodical press.

It is sometimes assumed that Christian Science calls for special intellectual proficiency and surprise is expressed that people who are unlearned, as the saying goes, can benefit thereby in body

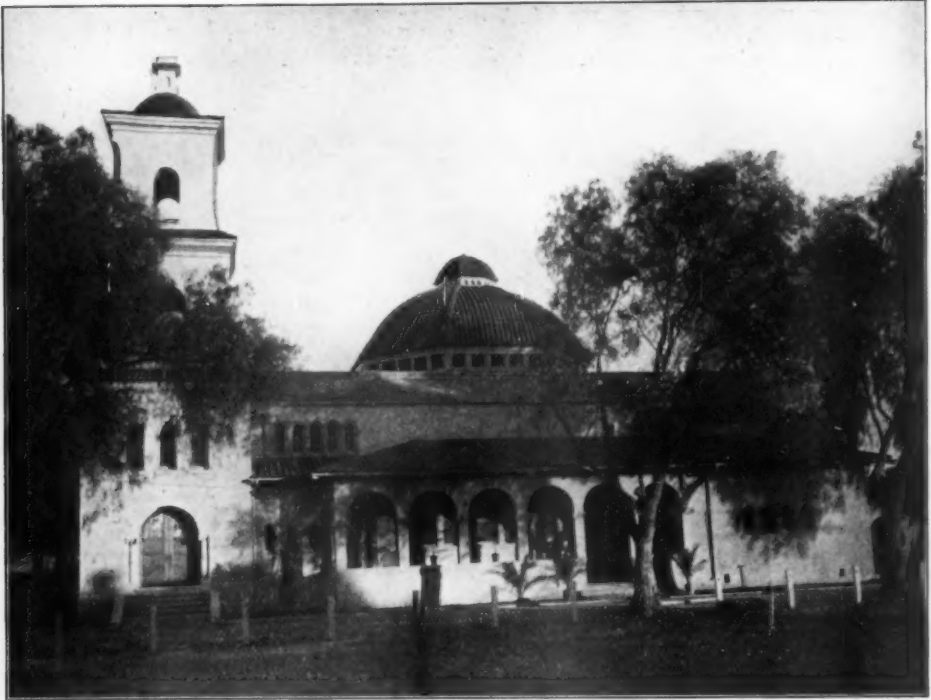


Photo. by Young, Riverside, Cal.

THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, RIVERSIDE, CALIFORNIA.

and mind. But there is no occasion for surprise. Christian Science bids us have "this mind . . . which was also in Christ Jesus," which surely means to have the apprehension and comprehension of God which Jesus had. No intellectual gymnastics, no psychological inventions, no complicated calculations are necessary to realize that "God is Spirit" (as Jesus said to the Samaritan woman), or that "God is love," as John assures us. A little child can grasp this fact and recognize its beneficent bearing on human affairs. Indeed Jesus not only commended the childlike quality of thought, but declared that this quality was absolutely necessary and indispensable, in order that men might enter the kingdom of heaven, that they might gain the sense of complete harmony.

Granting that some of the testimonies at the Wednesday evening meetings are given in a simple manner, often by persons unaccustomed to public speaking,

surely these supposed disadvantages only prove how deep must be the conviction, and how heartfelt the love and gratitude which force witnesses upon their feet to relate intimate personal experiences. To unprejudiced people these spontaneous testimonies are deeply impressive. "God is no respecter of persons." The demand of equal rights is to be strictly observed, for only in this manner can mankind advance.

When all is said and done, Christian Science can only live as it demonstrates its right to life by doing good. Christian Scientists are happy in the thought of what their faith has done for them, and they hope to advance thereby the coming of the era of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, but they do not impose their faith on others, and they scrupulously respect the religious and humanitarian convictions of their fellowmen.

W. D. McCrackan.

Boston, Mass.

# THE EVOLUTION OF THE TRUST: ITS EVIL ELEMENT AND THE TRUE REMEDY.

BY JOHN MOODY,

Author of "The Truth About the Trusts," etc., etc.

THE YEARS 1830 to 1835, when the famous Frenchman, Alexis DeTocqueville, visited America to gather material for his well-known book entitled *Democracy in America*, were years of great eventfulness for this country. These years marked a pronounced turning-point in the history of American institutions. It was at this period that the steam railroad began to take the place of the stage-coach; that the factory system began its fuller and broader development; that Andrew Jackson began his efforts for the overthrow of the United States Bank, and that the abolition movement, under the lead of William Lloyd Garrison, got under way.

Looking back now, over a space of more than seventy years the thoughtful man cannot but realize that the particular time referred to was a critical turning-point in American history, and that the three and one-half score years that have followed, have been productive of many astonishing changes in American customs, institutions, methods and standards of living, attitude towards government, as well as in opportunities for the advancement of freedom and equality.

DeTocqueville's great book, which made its appearance in 1835, opened with the following remarkable paragraph:

"Amongst the novel objects that attracted my attention during my stay in the United States, nothing struck me more forcibly than the *general equality of conditions*. I readily discovered the prodigious influence which this primary fact exercises on the whole course of society, by giving a certain direction to public opinion, and a certain tenor to the laws; by imparting new maxims to the

governing powers and peculiar habits to the governed.

"The more I advanced in the study of American society, the more I perceived that the *equality of conditions* is the fundamental fact from which all others seem to be derived, and the central point at which all my observations constantly terminated."

After reading the foregoing is it not an astonishing, or one might say, a *dramatic* fact, that only seventy years later a book should be published, attain wide circulation, and create great comment, which begins its introduction in this wise?

"What is the cause of the great changes that are coming over the American Republic—the *extraordinary inequality in the distribution of wealth* manifested on every hand; the rise of class feeling; the growth of the aristocratic idea; the lapse from morals in business and private relations among the very rich; the growth of elements of physical, mental and moral deterioration among the working masses; the appearance of militant trades-unionism; the perversion of the injunction principle and the use of soldiers in strikes; the corruption of federal, state and municipal politics; the deterring of press, university and pulpit from an open expression; the centralization of government; the advances in foreign aggression?"\*

What an astounding contrast in these two descriptions! And yet a period of only seventy years has intervened between the time of writing the two paragraphs.

While to those who have lived through this period the change of conditions may have seemed to be brought about very

\**The Menace of Privilege*, by Henry George, Jr., MacMillan Company, New York, 1906.

gradually and perhaps imperceptibly, yet, if we view the situation in the broad expanse of history, we will find that in the past ages such vastness of change has seldom occurred in such a brief period of time. In the case of the old Roman Republic we find that its complete change from a condition of equality of conditions to one such as is here described involved a period of several hundred years. This was also true of ancient Greece and has been true of other nations. While history teaches us that sudden revolutions have often occurred, taking men at a single leap, as it were, from conditions of serfdom and bondage to conditions of comparative freedom and equality, yet the changes in the *reverse* direction have nearly always been far less rapid and have spread over many pages of history.

Thus, our own short revolution from conditions of comparative *equality* to conditions of comparative *inequality* has been strikingly unique and dramatic, and has been the result, not of a long evolution, but apparently of a short, silent, non-belligerent, but still inexorable revolution.

In view of these remarkable changes let us examine briefly what has been going on in the American Republic during these seventy years.

In 1835 the population of the United States was about 14,000,000; the estimated wealth of the nation was \$4,470,000,000. The wealth per capita was \$319. By 1890 the national wealth had increased to \$65,000,000,000 and the population of the country to about 60,000,000 people; in 1900 the wealth had increased to \$94,000,000,000; and the population to about 80,000,000 people; and to-day it is conservatively estimated that the national wealth aggregates \$120,000,000,000, while the population has grown to more than 90,000,000 people, not including the population of the Philippine Islands. It is further estimated by experts that by 1910 the population will have increased to about 100,000,000 people and the national wealth to \$140,000,000,000; and that by 1920 the population will pos-

sibly reach 125,000,000 and the national wealth will exceed \$200,000,000,000.

Now on the figures already given the wealth per capita in 1835 was \$319; in 1890 it was about \$1,090. In 1900 it was \$1,175; and to-day it is \$1,333 per capita. On the estimates of the future already given it will be in 1910 about \$1,400 per capita, and in 1920 \$1,600 per capita. The actual increase, therefore, of the wealth per capita from 1835 to 1905 has grown from \$319 to \$1,333, a four-fold increase.

In this same period of seventy years the most astounding advances have been made in material civilization, in modes of traveling, of carrying on industry and commerce, and of living. Take the cost of transportation for example. To-day you can move a car-load of wheat from Dakota or Manitoba to Liverpool for one-tenth what it would cost in 1830 to move a wagon-load of wheat twenty-five miles. Steadily, as the production of the country has increased in magnitude, so has the cost of production fallen. And yet in spite of these remarkable facts, I have just pointed out in the two extracts quoted a description of conditions which does not seem to harmonize with these facts in any respect.

To merely realize that only seventy years ago the estimated wealth of the nation was but \$4,470,000,000, while to-day it is over \$120,000,000,000 should in itself indicate that if the American nation was in 1830 the wonderful civilization that DeTocqueville described, then how much more wonderful should it be to-day. If DeTocqueville noted a remarkable state of prosperity and equality and great absence of poverty in 1835 when the wealth per capita was only \$319, how much greater should be the prosperity and absence of poverty to-day with the wealth per capita at \$1,333. And yet in face of all this we find it admitted on practically all sides that "an extraordinary inequality in the distribution of wealth is manifest on every hand."

Does not all this seem astonishingly

paradoxical? But let us analyze the situation a little more closely.

I have stated that the estimated wealth of the nation is to-day about \$120,000,000,000. Of this about one-half or \$60,000,000,000, is what might be called created wealth, and the balance is spontaneous or unearned wealth—what is sometimes called the “unearned increment.” Now of the so-called total wealth about \$50,000,000,000 is to-day in corporate form, and of this \$35,000,000,000 is in the trust corporate form. Of the wealth in trust corporate form only about 40 per cent., I should say, is actual earned wealth and 60 per cent. is spontaneous value or unearned increment.

Let me try to show a little more clearly what I mean by these two different kinds of wealth. Take one of the large transportation trusts as an example, the Union Pacific Railroad system. Eight years ago its capital (market) value was approximately \$130,000,000 and this represented chiefly the real, tangible, created property at that time. Since then less than \$150,000,000 more has been invested in the Union Pacific Railroad and yet the market value of its securities to-day is not \$230,000,000, as you would naturally suppose, but is over \$600,000,000. The Pennsylvania Railroad system fifteen years ago was worth \$1,500,000,000; to-day it is worth over \$2,500,000,000; the Reading system in 1896 was worth only about \$120,000,000; to-day it is worth \$600,000,000. The Great Northern Railroad in 1890 was worth only about \$40,000,000; to-day it is worth over \$500,000,000. The public utility corporations of New York City cost to construct less than \$200,000,000, and yet to-day they are capitalized for over \$1,000,000,000. The Standard Oil Company represents an original investment of far less than \$50,000,000, and yet it is worth in the markets to-day nearly \$600,000,000. The great Steel trust has actually cost only \$400,000,000, and yet it is worth nearly \$1,500,000,000.

The difference between the cost of these things and the market value represents

the unearned increment or capitalized value of their monopoly or special privilege. This increment, created of course, by the community, the growth of population, and general increase of produced wealth, has, as the country has grown, increased with it and will necessarily continue to do so.

I have been describing the process which has brought what is known as the trust into existence. For with these gigantic strides in population, wealth production, and wealth inflation, the tendency has inevitably been to concentrate, reduce cost, eliminate competition and divert the product from the pockets of the producer to those of the privileged few. And it is because of this diversion of wealth that there is a trust problem. The next thing to do, therefore, is to trace how this diversion comes about.

“Self-preservation is the first law of nature,” and in his most primitive state man is bound to develop a capacity for preserving his physical life before he does anything else. He must first feed and clothe himself. Until he can get a living he can do little else, and the history of the vast majority of mankind from the most primitive times to this hour is really little else than a history of the struggle for material existence.

But under unobstructed natural law, men *can* and *do* always get a living; and they can and do develop from a lower to a higher state. They do this first through primitive labor. They apply themselves to the work of producing consumable things from the soil. These things they either consume themselves or exchange for other consumable things, thus bringing trade into existence. Some things they store up for future use and these they call wealth; others they store up to use in creating more wealth, and these they call capital. Capital is purely and simply stored-up labor. It is something which has been produced or brought into being and made of value by the combined forces of land and labor—the sentient labor of the hands or brain. The three factors of



wealth production are land, labor and capital; land being the primary passive factor, labor applied to land directly or indirectly being the active factor; and capital being simply stored-up labor.

Land, labor and capital being the three producers of wealth (capital being stored-up labor), is it not logical enough, that while men can get a living of some sort without access to capital, they cannot get it without access, directly or indirectly, to land? Give me all the land in the world and you can have all the capital and all the created wealth, and with all your possessions I will be in a position to force you to either to pay me tribute or make you starve to death, assuming, of course, that I have the *physical* power to carry out my legal privilege which is embraced in the ownership of the land. In other words, I will have the right to charge you in rent all the wealth you possess in exchange for giving you the privilege to live upon and use the surface of the earth. But give me all the wealth and capital in the world and you retain the soil, and if you see fit you can order me off the earth or else make me pay in rent all of my possessions and perhaps all of my labor for the privilege of existing upon the soil. But if, on the other hand, you take away all my capital, all my wealth, but leave me free to use my body and mind and give me equal access with others to the use of the earth, then I can snap my fingers at you, and the primary problem of the struggle for existence becomes for me no more the heartrending and pressing question which it is to-day for all peoples and in all civilized countries.

It is not because of the "iron heel of capital" that there is a trust question. Capital is a good thing and a harmless thing. It is like labor; it is a producer of wealth and in itself is harmless. Were there no other factor to be reckoned with in the trust than capital there would be no so-called trust question and people would not fear these great aggregations nor feel injurious influences from them any more than they now feel injurious effects from

the growth of a church or library or other institution of the kind. Capital and labor are fundamentally one; there is no conflict between them and essentially never can be—but "capital and labor clash because they are both robbed alike by their common enemy, *monopoly*." Monopoly is the overpowering factor in the trust question and it is by searching for and finding out this element that our problem can best be solved.

Just as soon as you mention the word "monopoly," a great many good and well-meaning people will say you must be a demagogue and that there is no such thing as monopoly in America. The trouble with such people is that they do not get down to fundamentals; they take the say-so of other people and of newspapers; they listen a little to the superficial sophistry and often inspired statements of political platforms and of interested politicians; or they get their opinions from certain religious teachers and other educators, many of whom are unfortunately prone to ally themselves on the side of the strongest battalions. It is easy to explain why people do this. When the monopoly element has so thoroughly permeated our civilization; when it controls and dominates the press and a large portion of the pulpit; when it makes its influence felt in the home, in society and in our legislative halls; and in many ways, most important of all, when it is a factor of such moment in business and industrial life that the average man is scarcely able to distinguish it from the legitimate elements of capitalistic production and distribution, we cannot blame men very much for being echoes of those who guide and dictate their destinies so largely in modern industrial life. It is quite to be expected as long as people persist in being so short-sighted and stupid as to let others think for them. Most men are guilty of this very thing all the time; they let others think for them. They appeal to the editorial column of the newspaper; they appeal to those in authority, or to others who are "eminent," and of course,

they think such authorities as these are "infallible."

And so it is with this question of trusts and its element of monopoly. Let us look at it as though it were not a *political* question, but simply a *human* question. Let us eliminate bias and see what it is that makes the trust question a burning issue. I say it is monopoly-power, or privilege. Now what is monopoly-power? It consists in the possession of the right to extort in one form or another. And it is this power or right that makes the average trust obnoxious; be it a steam or electric railroad, a gas or electric-light company, a manufacturing company or any other money-making aggregation. If a trust does not possess this special privilege in some form, then it will be found in every case that there is nothing obnoxious or injurious about it. It is not mere size, as some think, for many of the smaller trusts are, in their special spheres, obviously more unpopular than some of the larger ones. It is not the mere method of management, nor the personnel, nor the particular line of business. But it is this factor of privilege which enters in and interferes with the harmonious operations of natural law in the production and distribution of wealth, which is at the bottom of the irritating trust question.

As I have pointed out, land, labor and capital produce and distribute wealth. Now what does monopoly do? It diverts wealth, and here is the crux of the whole trust problem. Let me illustrate:

Way back in the '60s a man named Andrew Carnegie came to this country and after a while got into the iron business. In the course of time he became very successful and by means of railway rebates and discriminations and tariff restrictions he was enabled to amass a great fortune, running up into the millions. He did not amass this fortune by the combined efforts of labor and capital, but was greatly assisted by the power to extort. He extorted big profits by reason of tariff benefits; he extorted special rates from the railroads, the latter in turn extorting

in other ways to make up what they suffered at Carnegie's hands. In the course of time Carnegie and his associates reached a point where they thought it wise to retire with their booty, and they did it in true Jack Sheppard fashion. They had various rivals who were engaged in the same lines of business, most of these being dominated by Mr. J. P. Morgan. Morgan's companies were not so strong as Carnegie's; their point of vantage was not so good, but the Morgan interests had great financial resources and Carnegie decided to force them into buying him out. He thereupon began the tactics so familiar in corporate contests nowadays, and threatened to construct new railroads, tube mills, and so forth, which would seriously jeopardize the condition of Morgan's properties, the latter being already rather "toppy" and fearfully inflated in capitalization. Morgan was clearly caught in a corner and simply had to buy Carnegie out at the latter's own price. Carnegie made him pay in securities, an equivalent in market value of \$494,000,000, for a group of plants which had earned in *normal times*, only three years before, a yearly profit of less than \$10,000,000. Carnegie got in all for the share of himself and family, more than one-quarter of a billion dollars in good securities. In brief, Carnegie and his associates extorted from Morgan and his, about \$300,000,000 more than the plants were worth, the value of these plants themselves being largely represented by their owners' powers of extorting artificial prices through monopoly privileges. Morgan then found it necessary to organize his great Steel trust with its gigantic capitalization, and ever since, the latter has been trying to live up to the standard of its over-capitalization by taking the greatest possible advantage of its tariff and other monopoly benefits. It could doubtless be replaced to-day, aside from its monopoly rights, for less than \$300,000,000, and yet it is capitalized for five times that amount. The entire difference between the \$300,000,000 and the

\$1,500,000,000 is not real capital but merely the capitalization of monopoly-power or privilege—the legal privilege to extort. And in order to satisfy its owners and stock-holders it must earn sufficient income to pay a return on this capitalization.

Herein lies the key to the trust problem, and you will find that this same characteristic of special privilege or monopoly-power runs through the entire group of enterprises, industrial, public-service and transportation, which are generally classed as trusts. In some form or other nearly all possess the legal privilege to extort and they all capitalize this privilege to the fullest extent possible.

And so you will find it all through the fields of industry. Wherever there is a monopoly element the power of privilege makes its influence felt in the prices of the things we consume, the clothes we wear, the ornaments in our houses, our comforts and our luxuries. There are a thousand ways in which this power operates as a wealth diverter in the common walks of life, as well as in the franchise, the tariff and patent monopolies and special privileges of other kinds. But the chief monopoly of all, and the one that bolsters up the others and makes their existence possible, is the fundamental land monopoly. In this connection it is worth while again to repeat that without free use of capital man can preserve himself, but without free access to land he at once becomes more or less dependent. Whatever way you look at it, the trust question leads directly to the land question.

Let me give a concrete illustration of this:

We will go to the manufacturing state of New Jersey, and suppose a factory is built half way between Elizabeth and Rahway, which is to employ 5,000 people. It is far from the railway and difficult of access. Let us assume that labor of the same kind is paid in Elizabeth and Rahway at the rate of \$15.00 per week, and is in normal demand. In order to get operatives the factory out there in the fields will have to offer some inducement,

so that they must pay enough in addition to the regular rate of wages to cover the railway fare, which we will say is 20 cents per day or \$1.20 per week. The operatives thus get \$16.20 per week, of which \$1.20 goes for carfare, leaving them the net wage of \$15.00 per week for their own use. Now let us assume that a trolley line is put through, reducing the cost of travel to 10 cents per day or 60 cents per week. The labor market remaining the same, the factory will now be able to employ hands at 60 cents per week less, and the wage-rate will drop to \$15.60. The employé will be just where he was before. Suppose fares are reduced to 3 cents—6 cents per day or 36 cents per week. The wage-rate will fall again, still netting the operative his \$15.00. Now suppose travel is done away with, a village springs up about the factory, cottages are built and rented to the operatives. He no longer has his fare to pay, but he is subject to competition with other laborers—perhaps the rents in the new village are lower than in Elizabeth—the operative can perhaps live for \$1.00 per week less, therefore, men are willing to work in this new village for \$14.00 per week, as it costs \$1.00 less than in Elizabeth. The wage-rate goes to \$14.00. In time, the cost of living increases in the village, improvements are introduced, taxes are increased on property, and a man cannot live any cheaper than in Elizabeth. In obedience to supply and demand his wages go to \$15.00 again, but as it now costs him \$1.00 more for increased rent and so forth, he is really in the same condition as he was in before. And so it goes—twist conditions as you will, the rise in real wages is offset by the rise in rents and other increased cost of living. If there has been no loss, neither has there been any gain—and the average rate of wages will be governed by the bare cost of subsistence, and to an extent by the supply of and demand for labor in given industries.

But the situation is different with the comparatively small class who possess

the title to land, or have the advantages of other privileges. The owner of the factory, for instance, will not merely make his legitimate profit, but will benefit enormously by the unearned increment daily being created by population in the village which he has started. Buying the land for a song, he will perhaps rent a part of it at increasing rates as population grows, hold a large portion of it out of use awaiting future appreciation, etc. Other land speculators may come along and do the same. And they can afford to do it, because the taxation is not concentrated upon their unused ground, but is spread over improvements and everything else; they may manufacture goods which are protected by a tariff and which may enable them to sell at prices 50 per cent. higher here than they are glad to take abroad, the consumer, of course, paying in this way a tribute, *not* to the government, but *to them*.

Now it may be argued that this so-called monopoly does not work this way. It is not true that men are so completely at the mercy of those they work for nowadays; and this is partly true, but it is because of the fact that labor now operates coöperatively and in large aggregations, just as capital does; and thus we have the trades-unions and the problem of organized labor as an added factor in modern industrial problems. The labor-union is a defensive movement, contrived by workmen themselves as an effective weapon for fighting the injurious effects of monopoly. Labor does not fight capital, as is erroneously thought; it endeavors to fight monopoly. And of course it makes mistakes; its measures are often unjust and bring injuries in their train which are serious. The trades-union is a somewhat clumsy device to protect the laborer from being entirely exploited.

The inequitable conditions of society which we see all about us are due, not to natural or unavoidable causes, but to a denial of justice between man and man. We have been trying through legislation, for more than a decade, to solve the trust

problem and yet it will not down. Beginning with the movement inspired nearly twenty-five years ago by the disclosures of secret relations between the Standard Oil trust and the railroads, the movement for trust regulation has continued interruptedly down to the present day. And still, in the face of all this legislation, the issue is the most vital one before the people to-day, and no immediate settlement of it seems to be in sight.

In the philosophy of Henry George I believe is found the solution to this trust problem. He has shown us that this great economic question is at bottom a moral question, and he has studied and analyzed the question in such a way that his solution is in harmony with natural law and human justice. If you once understand the economic philosophy of Henry George you will see that the economic inequality of modern times is fundamentally due to the fact that in the effort to progress and accumulate wealth men make use of another factor besides the legitimate ones of land, labor and capital. They make use, consciously or unconsciously, of monopoly, which gives them the power to extort. The result is that general progress and the development of civilization, instead of being a harmonious growth, is largely a grand inequitable scramble; the doctrine of "every man for himself and the devil take us all" largely becomes the standard for action, and practical men laugh at the idea of abstract justice and say that this is a purely selfish world, governed by unjust natural law.

I, for one, cannot take this view of life. I do not for a moment believe that it is the niggardliness of nature or the crudity of natural law that brings inequality and poverty and suffering and low ideals into the world. But I do thoroughly believe that the fault lies in men themselves, and that in the practical teaching of Henry George they can find the key to this great problem.

There can be nothing so vicious in their effects on society, as well as on posterity, as false ethical standards, and it is in the



propagation of these false ideas and standards that the bad effects of monopoly and special privilege are most potent. Young men are in many ways taught nowadays, either directly or through a little surface experience, or by implication, that the highest ideals of life are to be reached through money getting; that is, through amassing great fortunes and becoming powerful factors in commercial or industrial life. A great captain of industry, with his fifty millions, is pointed out as the model for our youth to follow, and every effort is made by his elders and advisers to start him along this road. In extenuation for this devotion to mere wealth, it is said that it gives power for good, for the guidance of the ship of state, and for the promotion of material well-being. But when we read or study the life of this or that great general of finance and see how his work is often lauded by press and pulpit, it indeed seems a hollow mockery that we should call such careers ideal. To my mind, there is nothing so pathetic in modern life as to see some of these captains of industry passing middle life and entering the period of old age. With every material want, with wealth and comfort of every kind, they have usually lost their brightest jewel—*character*. Their ideals are gone, their spirituality stunted, and in many ways they have become the master materialists. And this is but natural, for how can even thoughtful and discerning men, who see life with all its injustice, who are taught that their own ideals of success are right, and yet that to achieve them largely involves cruelty and injustice to their fellow-men—how can even thoughtful men, under such guidance, have any true ideals or develop any real religious side? And it seems to me that here is one of the great

reasons why our churches are so empty; why public, business and social morality is so low, and why in this strenuous twentieth century we seem to be growing more and more away from the ideals of justice and of true Christianity. If the daily experience of practical men, both as employers and employes, goes to confirm the theory that the establishment of natural justice will always be an unattainable dream, then the hope for the triumph of Christianity is poor indeed, for surely, if there is no such thing as justice there can of course be no God. In this the materialistic socialist is logical. To make his premises fit the theory he must of necessity deny the existence of abstract justice and in doing that he must deny his God.

But the truths brought to light by Henry George, showing conclusively that the great ills of society are the direct result, not of unjust natural law, but of man's own inhumanity to man, do not kill but do awaken the old ideals; they revive the dying faith in justice and by their teaching we get the inspiration of a true religion.

In understanding and living in the spirit of George's philosophy, which is entirely based on the simple doctrines of equal freedom and natural justice, we are enabled to harmonize and explain many apparently conflicting tendencies and theories of life; we can see the wisdom of Tolstoy's teaching of non-resistance and the possibility of its practical application in the years to come; we can look with hope and confidence into future generations and confidently believe that a better, happier and more ideal, not a poorer civilization, is in store for mankind.

JOHN MOODY.

*New York City.*



## THE SPIRIT VERSUS THE LETTER OF THE CREEDS.

BY REV. A. R. KIEFFER, D.D.

**C**ONTROVERSY over the relative importance of the spirit and of the letter of the creeds is probably as old as religion itself. The Jewish prophets were men of the spirit, ever contending with the priests who were men of the letter, and usually failing to impress the public of their time, because the materialistic masses naturally sided with the opponents of spiritual truth.

Jesus Christ came in the line of the prophets, the great champion of the spirit as against the letter. He said of His own words, "They are Spirit and they are Life." And His quotations from Sacred Books He surcharged with a fullness of meaning never thought of before.

When He said "God" He meant not a national God, but the universal Father.

By "worship" He meant not the elaborate forms of the Temple service, but "worship in Spirit and in truth."

By "resurrection" He meant not as others did, the rising of dead bodies from graves, but of men's souls from the "death of sin unto the life of righteousness" here; and, as the result of the eternal life in them, its continuance in the world to come.

So He put into their familiar words His own spiritual meanings. The priests as the official expounders of the old religion, opposed Him and His method of interpretation, as they had done with the prophets before Him. He endangered their office-holding, turned their vast accumulations of manuscripts and ecclesiastical traditions into rubbish, and their boasted religion into folly.

The masses followed the priests, because they did not understand Him. They did not like to think, as it is so much easier to accept thoughts on authority.

He was tried for heresy, convicted by a packed court on the evidence of paid spies, delivered to the Romans, and, on another trumped-up charge, put to death by them.

It is noticeable in both ecclesiastical and political trials how rarely there is a fair one. As a rule they are organized to convict. When there is not a converted church or nation, there is a persecuted and killed reformer.

St. Paul was the next great representative of the Spirit as against the Letter. His Epistles strongly emphasize the value of the spiritual in contrast with the literal and in disparagement of the latter. For this he was persecuted by his Jewish brethren, Christian and non-Christian, was put out of the Jewish church for heresy, had his life embittered and his missionary work hindered by the literalists in the Christian church.

He has been followed by a long line of spiritual men down to the present. They met the same fate; were vilified, tried for heresy, put out of the church, and some put out of life.

But their cause lived, and one often sees the so-called heresy of one generation become the orthodoxy of the next. Some such men are with us now; men in whom the spiritual takes precedence over the literal and material; who care not so much for *forms* of truth as for truth itself; who believe that truth is a living well and not a cistern; who proclaim that religious truth has not yet been received in all its fulness, and that the Holy Spirit is now, as always, helping men toward truth; and who, when they discover it, boldly declare it, whether the church or the world will listen or not. They are trying to free the church from its errors in dogma, from narrowness

and bigotry, from slavish adherence to the letter, and to gain for it "the liberty of the spirit."

The treatment they receive is just what they expected. History is repeating itself. These prophets are misunderstood, their motives impugned, their characters aspersed, their right to remain in the church denied.

In the November number of *THE ARENA* the Rev. Dr. Bushby has an article entitled "The Zeit-Geist and the Miraculous Conception." It is freer from personal abuse than most of the articles written by literalists, and we gladly adopt as our own column after column of it; yet even this more gentle-spirited man evidently thinks that the cause of truth demands such expressions as the following concerning good men who differ from him: "novelty seekers," "robbers of all that Christians hold dear," "traitors in the household," "dishonest men," "violators of their ordination vows," "feeding their people husks instead of the truths of the old Gospel which the Apostles preached." These are the epithets hurled at saintly men who are gladly spending their lives, with but small outward reward, in the service of Christ, which is the service of humanity; whose neighbors count them honest and pure in all the relations of life; who are known to be lovers of truth above all things and diligent seekers for it; who love the Lord Jesus Christ and find in Him their ideal of man and of God.

When we notice how "abuse" is the popular argument of our orthodox divines, we wonder whether it would be an equal lack of charity on our part to say *anger* animates them rather than love of truth. Certainly the ungodly would say they are "mad," for that is the way the ungodly express themselves when angry.

However, our friends the enemy insist they are not "mad," they are only "grieved." "Grieved" is a favourite word of some bishops who roast "heretics" in convention addresses. I suppose John Calvin was not angry at Servetus when

he burned him at the stake; he was only "grieved." That word has won a place in the ecclesiastical dictionary as a symbol of "all hatred, malice and uncharitableness."

Surely justice demands for us at least such an acknowledgment as was lately accorded a good bishop when he was introduced at a mass-meeting as "an Episcopalian with leanings towards Christianity." If our claim to be loyal churchmen and Christians is denied, we beg to be credited with at least "leanings" in that direction.

Conservatism blinds the eyes of many to the "needs of the times" and to the evolutionary character of all truth.

Radicalism is indeed dangerous, but conservatism is much more so.

A conservative mill-pond kills more by the typhus it breeds than the swift-flowing river ever kills by overflowing its banks.

Extreme church conservatism denies the possibility of progress in Christian doctrine; tenaciously holds to old forms whose life has departed; proclaims, through the House of Bishops, that "fixity of interpretation is of the essence of the Creed," meaning that we must interpret its words as our fathers did and because they did; and, in the language of a bishop, calls the Creed a "chrysal," that is, a dead stone, and sets it up as an idol for our worship.

Truth is indeed unchangeable, but the forms it takes change as needs demand. Men's knowledge of God and His Christ grows as mental capacity increases.

Every article of the Apostles' Creed, while its letter remains, has taken on larger meanings. Our conservatives themselves interpret *ten* of its articles in ways that show great advance over the interpretations of the "fathers." But they insist that the other two, namely, "born of the Virgin Mary" and "the Resurrection," must still be taken in their strict literalness.

But if *ten* have grown in spiritual meaning, why not the other two, without injury to the faith?

"I believe in God—maker of Heaven and earth" once meant that God was so wise as to make all things in six days of twenty-four hours each; but even many conservatives now take it to mean, as do the radicals, that God is so wise as to make all things make themselves,—the law of evolution.

This new faith does not *destroy* the old, but *enlarges* it.

Again, "Conceived by the Holy Ghost" was once applied to Jesus alone, but when some churchmen now say that *all* men are so conceived, since the Holy Ghost is "the giver of life"—all life—and there is no life except that of God the life-giver, they take away nothing of the truth in the old belief; they but enlarge its meaning.

"He ascended into Heaven" once meant that He made a bodily ascent through the air to some place beyond the stars. But the newer and grander conception of "His Ascension" is that He arose above all earthly limitations of locality and of flesh and became universally present by His spirit.

"Sitteth at the right hand of God" originally meant just that; the Father sits on a throne, His Son on another throne at His right hand; while the Holy Spirit, as a dove, hovers over both. This is still the meaning for most of our heresy hunters, who, while calling themselves Trinitarians, are really Tritheists, saying *one* God while believing in three. But to-day Christ's session at the right hand of God suggests a grander thought than the literalists cherish; that the Eternal Spirit filling all things has *no* "right hand"; that the right hand of God is *nowhere* because it is *everywhere*. So the article has come to mean, not less, but vastly *more* than before, namely, the spiritual Lordship of Jesus Christ.

Again, "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" once meant the Roman Catholic Church. If old interpretations are forever "fixed" honesty would take those who repeat that clause back into the church where their ancestors belonged. But

believers in freedom of interpretation mean by it the Church Universal, all-inclusive, broad, coëxtensive with the good of all ages, nations and religions.

So we might show how ten articles of the Creed have been given much higher meanings. Is it then impossible for more light to shine forth from the Bible and Science on the other two, namely, the "Virgin birth" and the Resurrection? Has there been development in all other Christian doctrines, but can be none in these? When we say "resurrection" must we mean "of the flesh," that the buried body will come to life again? St. Paul says to the man who believes that, "Thou fool!" And because the church has so long ignored his teaching of a "spiritual body" rising at death out of the grave of the physical, must we now accept the judgment of a Diocesan Court and the Review Court following it, that St. Paul and his present-day followers are heretics? There is a singular silence on this resurrection question and few if any will argue for the old materialistic notion. Perhaps it is because they themselves have given it up, while unwilling for various reasons to publicly say so. At any rate, the discussion to-day is directed chiefly to the interpretation of the clause, "born of the Virgin Mary."

Dr. Bushby insists that "the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ depends on the physical fact." The same position is taken by a Western bishop: "God could not have come into the world except by being physically born of a virgin." In this they differ from St. Paul who says that "God is in all" and who applies to Christ's followers the same expressions he applies to the Master Himself: "Partakers of the Divine nature," "sons of God," "filled with all the fulness of God," as Jesus was, the difference being in degree and not in kind. He wrote from the Monistic standpoint—God *in* the world; not God *and* the world; he was the first Christian Pantheist. He taught God dwelling in and not manifesting Himself through Jesus of Nazareth, al-

though he knew nothing of the Virgin Birth; or, if he did know of it, he never mentioned it, not considering it an essential of the faith nor of necessity to the doctrine or fact of the Incarnation. With him God is in all men and things; but in such fulness in His Chosen Son that looking at Him, men can see what God is like, and what true man is like; the Ideal which every man should try to reach and become such a son of God as Jesus was.

Belief in the Divinity, or even the Deity of Jesus Christ does not depend upon the mode in which He came into the world, but upon His character—upon what He was and is. So when we read, "This virgin life was the result of His Virgin birth—meaning by Virgin a pure unmarried maiden," we answer, "That is a *non-sequitur*."

The same faulty logic is seen in the argument based upon St. Matthew's quotation from Isaiah: "A virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son." He grants that this "virgin" was Isaiah's own young wife, by whom the prophecy was fulfilled *partially*. But he argues that its *complete* fulfillment could only be "through a maid who was *no* wife—namely, the Blessed Virgin Mary giving birth to the Eternal Son of God." But surely the legitimate conclusion is that the young married woman who partially fulfilled the prophecy typifies another virgin of the same kind—that is, a young married woman, to completely fulfill it.

But aside from the dispute over words, it is well known that the writer of St. Matthew's Gospel used old prophecies in a way that carries no weight to-day. Thus, he says that the return of the Child and His parents from Egypt was a fulfillment of the prophecy of Hosea, "Out of Egypt have I called my Son"; while the truth is that Hosea referred to Israel's deliverance from its ancient bondage.

New Testament writers may be counted infallible witnesses to facts before their eyes, but as *interpreters* of facts they are not infallible. Whether the stories of

the Nativity in St. Matthew and St. Luke are literal facts cannot now be proved or disproved; therefore freedom of opinion should be allowed. Certainly their two genealogical tables are mutually contradictory, except in making Him the son of Joseph. The Nativity stories seem to have been unknown to the compilers of His genealogy and do not fit in with their purpose to make Joseph His father. Nor do they fit in with Mary's saying to Jesus: "Lo, Thy father and I have sought Thee sorrowing"; nor with the declaration of His first disciples: "We have found Him of whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph."

The story of His miraculous birth was not then known to these men, His neighbors; nor was it *that* which converted them into faithful followers. The alleged fact does not seem to be of any importance in the estimation of the Apostles. The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke mention it, but, possibly, as the addition of later hands. St. John in his Gospel of the Incarnation of the Word of God seems ignorant of it. St. Mark, author of the original Gospel, knows nothing of it—or else considers it not worth mentioning; nor do any of the writers of the Epistles—the men who went into all the world to preach the Gospel to every creature—use it as a part of their Gospel or make it an essential of the Christian faith.

Dr. Bushby says: "This silence does not prove ignorance on their part; but they felt that since two Evangelists had told the story, that was enough." A good answer, *if* the printed New Testament had then existed with its present wide circulation! But since each of the four Evangelists wrote for a certain people among whom his manuscript, with its few copies, was necessarily localized, then two of them, St. Mark and St. John, deliberately withheld from their readers this now-considered fundamental fact of the Christian faith.

Further, the chief missionaries, Peter,



Paul and John, writing letters to the churches they established, deliberately withheld from them this all-important knowledge, which they never could get from any other source, since none of the other Gospels were written until after those churches were founded and these Epistles written.

Dr. Bushby, writing of "the real personality of Jesus," well says: "He was no Hebrew legend or Gentile myth." Nevertheless myths did gather around Him, and especially around His birth. Witness the "Gospel of the Infancy" and other Apocryphal books.

Myths are characteristic of *all* religions, and Christianity could not escape them in that superstitious age. Judaism was full of them, many being adopted from Persia, whence the Jews got their devil, the Spirit of Darkness. The writings of Isaiah show the influence upon him of the religion of Persia, the system of Light-worship, Zoroastrianism, Mithraism. Through it the idea of Divine Incarnation was popularized.

Pythagoras was said to be an incarnation of Apollo by the virgin Parthenis. Even Plato calls him an incarnation of Apollo.

There was a colony of Buddhists in Syria, and one legend is that Maya, the mother of Buddha, conceived him through Divine agency.

There are many examples that the natural feeling of mankind that their heroes and benefactors were of divine origin; and so they were, through a spiritual conception if not a physical one. It was a crude way of expressing the truth that there must be some point of union for the Infinite and the finite, the Divine and the human, and that a pure man or woman is the closest approximation to God that humanity can conceive. It led up to the full truth of the Christian doctrine of the Manhood of God and the Goodness of man. Myths are not falsehoods; they are profound truths put forth in such forms as would alone enable them to be received by the ignorant. The

early church did not need to create any myths; it found them ready made and did not hesitate to adopt and use them as prophecies that had found their fulfillment in Jesus of Nazareth.

The Sun myth was especially fitted to win men to the Christian faith. Mithras was the incarnation of the Sun, born at the winter solstice and of a virgin, the constellation Virgo being then in the horizon. He had a retinue of twelve persons corresponding to the Sun's twelve months. He vanquished the Prince of Darkness, but lost his life in the contest; descended into Hades, as the Sun to the under side of the earth; rose again at Easter as the Sun out of the equinoctial storms; ascended in the heavens and opened the gates of Life to man and redeemed him from the oppression of the Dark, evil One, just as the sun rises higher and higher and gives the world the blessing of summer, thus redeeming it from the darkness and death of winter. This was the religion of the wise men who followed the Star to the cradle of the infant Jesus.

Mithraism was the great rival of the church for nearly three hundred years. That the church adopted those myths as prophecies whose fulfillment was found in Jesus Christ, even as they used the Jewish prophecies for the same purpose, is clear as we consider those ancient Mithraic customs that continue in use with us. Church buildings are still erected with the altar in the east. Church festivals are usually those ancient astronomical ones that mark the sun's entrance into a new sign; witness Christmas, the Epiphany, and Easter. On December twenty-first the sun-worshippers were in doubt whether their Lord would ever rise again; therefore the church chose that day as the festival of St. Thomas. On June twenty-fourth the light began to decrease; therefore the church set it apart as John the Baptist's day. The church even gave astronomical names to the Virgin Mary's parents. Her father they called Heli—short for



Helios, the Sun; and her mother, Anna, feminine for Annos, the year. The church celebrates Anna's birth on July twenty-fifth, the new year's day of ancient Egypt. Because the celestial Virgin of the Zodiac disappears from sight on August fifteenth, the church observes that day in honor of the Virgin Mary's assumption into heaven. As Virgo's head comes into sight on September ninth, the church chose that day to celebrate "the Nativity of Blessed Virgin Mary." So the church freely used the myths of those she sought to win, and showed her wisdom in so doing.

That the virgin birth of Jesus was one of them is possible, although the historic evidence of His personality and work is, I believe, irrefutable. I only insist that the possibility of the popular myth concerning the miraculous birth of the various Sun gods having been transferred to our account of His birth is not an unreasonable supposition, and those who hold it should be allowed to do so in peace.

On the other hand, those who hold to the literal interpretation should not be denounced as believers of a thing contrary to reason and science. For all we know, "partheno-genesis" may be a law of God through which new species have been brought into the world. That it is a law of nature in some departments is undeniable. Huxley says it is common among silk-worms. Maeterlinck finds it among queen bees. In the process of evolution, when a species had developed to its fullest capacity on its plane, it may be that some virgin of that species was chosen by the brooding Spirit of God as the matrix for the conception and birth of the next higher species; that thus was the evolution of all creatures, culminating in humanity; and that then a choice virgin of that order was divinely chosen to start a new creation as far above the ordinary man as the latter is above his animal ancestry.

But what does it matter whether Christians adopt a literal or the non-literal in-

terpretation of the Virgin Birth? The church should be as broad and catholic now as she was in apostolic days and later on, including all who held such essentials of the faith as the Incarnation, whether agreeing or not as to mode; just as all hold the truth of Christ's presence in the Sacrament while differing widely as to the mode of that presence.

Dr. Bushby well says: "What Jesus was as a Person and a Teacher must ever be considered a standing proof that He was indeed the Son of God and the manifestation of Divine Love." But we fail to see any connection between that and His birth. Shakespeare was Shakespeare in virtue of his genius, no matter who his father was.

When Dr. Bushby deplors "the destruction of the old Faith," he fails to distinguish between "the Faith" and its changing forms.

It was needful at first for the truths of Christianity to be clothed in *materialistic forms*, so as to meet with acceptance. To-day there are those who do not need such clothing. It is enough for them to hold the *Spirit* within the letter. Once the doctrine of immortality could be received only in connection with a material body; and so the Creed meant *that*, and does still, for the majority. But to those who are "not carnal" the belief in a "spiritual body" is the form which the doctrine takes. "First that which is natural, afterward that which is spiritual." The same development is seen in the doctrine of the Incarnation. A material form was *once* essential to it, and is yet to most Christians. The only Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ that they can think of is one by physical birth; although "that which is born of the flesh is flesh" and flesh only, and "that which is born of the spirit is spirit" and can be nothing else.

Better that the people accept truth in its crudest form than not at all. The power that was in the old faith still exists in the higher form.

We remember when the world depend-

ed upon horses for most of its land transportation. Then human needs demanded a better method, and steam took the place of horses. Yet, how are steam-engines rated? By their "horse-power," the same old power in a more efficient shape. Once we depended upon candles for lighting our homes; but when the need came for more brilliant light, electricity supplanted candles. The former need of candles is not despised nor their usefulness denied. All that they were once a symbol of exists still; for, is not our electricity rated and measured by its "candle-power"? Those with a large stock of horses or candle-moulds on hand when the change came, naturally opposed the innovation.

There is an unconscious conservatism which "biases" men in favor of the old and against the new. Dr. Bushby charges that the "bias" is on the part of the original investigators "who are prejudiced against what is old; influenced by love of novelty and desire for notoriety and the ambition to be counted independent thinkers." Most men are "biased" by the old, by their early education, by their desires to let well enough alone, and by many another *old* thing; but a "bias for the new" is a rare thing. The parson who has spent years in making sermons out of an old theology and in building up an ecclesiastical machine is not *likely* to be "biased in favor of the new." Most ministerial training is a "bias" against new ideas. Theological schools, as I remember them—possibly they have changed—were not intended to broaden but to narrow men's minds; not to train them to think, but to accept thoughts whose value was estimated by their age rather than by their livingness. "New thoughts are dangerous," so we were told.

Professors seemed chosen for their expertness in dissecting dead things. They made themselves solid with the trustees and taught their students to become solid with the elders, vestry and church-people generally, by "renouncing Darwin and all his works."

Evolution accepted necessitates a re-statement of the old theology. But it does not take Jesus Christ from us. The higher our development and soul culture, the farther will He, the Divine Man, be beyond us and worshiped as "God out of God, Light out of Light," to use the language of the Nicene Creed. We believe that this ideal was historically realized, and that, in the main, we have a faithful record of it in the four Gospels.

But even if the almost impossible supposition should ever be proved, that not only His birth but also His entire story is only another Sun myth; that the ideal never was materialized, I would still hold it as a spiritual conception worthy of all our faith, and as the most elevating ideal possible to the human mind and most worthy of men's striving after; and that the most important work in the world is to induce others to reach toward it.

Ideals, not things or persons—except as they are embodiments of ideals—are the all-important, for they make and move the world. High thoughts make high men, as low thoughts make low men. The wise care more for the truth of things than for things. Ideals constitute the essence of religion. The essence alone is the essential part, and the changing forms it assumes are of value only as they bring into view and into use the essence. "The Spirit quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."

A. R. KIEFFER.

*The Rectory, Church of the Ascension,  
Bradford, Penna.*

## RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY AND THE DRAMA.

BY CHARLES KLEIN,

Author of "The Music Master," "The Lion and the Mouse," and "The Daughters of Men."

**I**N THESE matter-of-fact days it is a far cry from religion to drama; it is a still farther cry from philosophy to art; yet religion and philosophy have an overwhelming influence on the artist in general and the dramatist in particular, and while these elements are superficially ignored, they are fundamentally the most vital influences to be reckoned with in considering dramatic inception, conception and fruition. As a matter-of-fact, the drama is the concrete reflection of the mental attitude of a race toward the religion and philosophy of its period. This link is felt rather than seen, for it is reflected in whatever is psychological or metaphysical in drama.

The most striking example of this perhaps obvious truism to-day is exemplified in the influence of the philosopher Nietzsche on the (to my mind) greatest dramatists of their day, Henrik Ibsen and George Bernard Shaw. The plays of these men are typical examples of the pessimism that is breathed through every page, almost through every line, of the works of the great German philosopher, and as a consequence we are threatened with an almost complete annihilation of the ideals embodied in the conventional hero and heroine of romance.

Now this result may be regarded by many, especially the over-sophisticated as a not-too-thinly disguised blessing, for the destruction of the conventional generally means something new; but does it mean progress—progress in its real sense—progress to higher and better rather than mere change in aspect? Is the romantic to be labelled false because it is life idealized, or because the restless mind wants something new rather than something true?

The conventional in the drama is what the platitude is in ethics. If you take all the platitudes or obvious truths out of the Bible, you have no Bible; if you take all the convention out of the drama, you have no drama; and this is perhaps why the verdict of the man who reads as he runs is that Ibsen and Shaw are not dramatists but propagandists,—an opinion I most heartily disagree with. But whatever the verdict of the general public, the point is that the cause of this lack of appeal to a general audience is the wholesale destruction of its popular ideals. Now I have no objection to the wholesale or retail sacrifice of every ideal now existing in the human mind, providing—and here is my objection to the Nietzschean influence—providing they furnish ideals or standards of good in the place of those they have destroyed.

I quite agree with Messrs. Nietzsche, Ibsen and Shaw, that the world ideals are untrue; that the world, generally speaking, is a hypocrite: that "all things are impure to the pure." But is idealism a vague abstraction? Are we hopelessly self-deluded? Is death the only fact of creation? Is morality a question of geographical location, an adjustable quantity? Is a good man necessarily a failure? Is the process of natural selection (Darwinianism) the order of being? And finally, is death complete and absolute extinction?

The destruction of our hopes, imperfect as they are, leaves the above questions unanswered in ethics, as the destruction of our romantic ideals leaves us with the drama of evil triumphant. The overman of Nietzsche is the triumph of instinct over reason, as the superman of Shaw is the triumph of self-sufficiency

and the repudiation of the doctrine of self-sacrifice. Considered as a fundamental, the doctrine of natural selection and the theory of the evolution of the human race from atom and protoplasm to mushroom, monkey and man, has influenced our greatest dramatists to grossly undervalue, if not completely to ignore, the greatest ethical command ever given to the human race,—namely, Love one another. The vitality, life and dynamic energy of this idea are completely hidden by the self-completeness of individualism; and the destruction of faith in the good is increased by an over-emphasis on the constant presence of the power of evil. Does virtue triumph in a single instance in any of the plays of any disciple of Nietzsche, and when it does is it not a half-hearted, lukewarm victory? It certainly is not a triumph. Is it not a concession grudgingly made to convention? I am not holding a brief for happy endings, or for the conventional. I am heartily sick of both. But what I contend is, that the pessimistic philosophy of the triumph of the beast and the ultimate extinction of mind—soul—destroys not only the ideals and the happiness of the race, but undermines its very existence. Without faith in the existence and infinity of its own good, we have no hope. If virtue is not its own reward, what's the use of being virtuous? (And the good people in these plays are mostly weak when they are not downright fools.) Can we love our neighbor as ourselves if the virtue of loving does not contain within itself the kernel of reward? Cynicism (the offspring of intellectualism) tells us that loving our neighbor is a wasted effort unless our neighbor is honest enough to return it, and then goes on to tell us that the chances are he is not. The effect of the destruction of faith and hope is pretty well exemplified in the "make hay while the sun shines" and "put money in thy purse" policy of our commercial world. Is not dishonesty a direct result of the belief that honesty has no reward, but that dishonesty *has*? Is it not a popular theory that nothing

succeeds like success? Whoever heard of a good man being successful because he is a good man rather than a good business man? What I ask is not merely that we shall be shown that evil punishes, but that it shall be insisted on as equally axiomatic that *good rewards*. And this is why the healthy, normal mind asks for the happy ending, not essentially because it is the world's experience (for it is n't), but because it is a fundamental human desire, a normal, sound and sane desire to see virtue rewarded with happiness, or, as the children say, "all end happily." It is a very great question in my mind as to whether the lesson taught by the punishment of evil is as beneficial or as necessary to the human race as the lesson taught by the reward of good. Certain it is that in the Ibsen-Shaw plays very few if any of their characters deserve reward; and if they do, there seems to be no happiness in the peculiar philosophy of these gentlemen to bestow on them. Is it an healthy or an unhealthy sign that the world desires good to conquer evil in the drama as well as in life? But while intellectual men make our plays we must expect the intellectual morbid point-of-view, and intellectually considered in this life, evil is triumphant—for does not death (to all appearances) conquer life, and is not death the greatest of all evils? Now one of the effects of destroying faith in ideals and religion, and the most distinct influence of the philosopher Nietzsche is his complete abrogation of the Christian idea of the hereafter. Like the Hellenic philosophers, our moderns cannot reason it out, and so will "none of it."

Religion is the only conceivable weapon with which the race can attack death; and faith (plus understanding) is the only conceivable element with which we can ever hope to abolish that at present firmly established and apparently unavoidable condition; so that in taking religion, faith and hope out of the world-mind as factors in the development of the race, we are robbing men of the only weapons with which they can hope to



destroy their greatest of all enemies,—or if not destroy, at least modify its terrors. Please understand, this paper is not a plea for scholastic or any other theology; it is an effort to show the effect on the drama of the absence of the religious sense and the wholesale destruction of ideals without putting in the place of these ideals something equally as satisfying.

Ancient philosophy was constructive criticism, optimistic, helpful and uplifting; but modern philosophy is destructive, iconoclastic, pessimistic, intellectual and depressing. For instance:

Christianity, say Nietzsche, Haeckel and a few others (in effect), in its inception was the effort of a weak race to bring a strong race down to its own level through the doctrine of non-resistance; it is an ethico-political movement.

Christianity, says intellectualism, is an effort to ignore the Tree of Knowledge, an effort of the ignorant majority to bring the intellectual minority down to its own level by establishing a universal brotherhood of man based on the emotional "unscientific" sentiment, "Love thy neighbor as thyself."

Christianity, says the materialistic scientist, is an attempt of the weak to survive, when it has been decided by empiricism that the strong only can live.

The religious sense, says the metaphysician and psychologist, is emotion, a feminine instinct (because utterly opposed to logic); moral activity is emotion, it is based on sensation; you must conquer with the will this tendency to venerate the unseen, or it will conquer you (auto-hypnotism). Be your own God; don't allow emotion to control you. Faith is intellectual weakness; spirit is psychic phenomena,—hypnotism, esoteric magic, etc. The only strength is to will and to do. This is life, this is emotion, and (says the intellectual press) this is success. After all, echoes the materialistic world, what are we here for?

So in effect modern philosophy, science and intellectualism teach that love is self-indulgence, patriotism a false

sense of duty, friendship self-interest, virtue an ignorance of consequences, purity disguised impotence, and so on; that nothing is or can be done but from motives of self-interest; that where there is any other motive it is either hypocrisy or self-deception,—it is folly, the folly of believing, the folly of hoping, the folly of emotionalism (religion), the folly of self-delusion—all is folly, all is vanity, all is nothing—what's the use!

Now what is the consequence of this wholesale destruction, this downfall of our ideals, this downfall of faith, of confidence in principle, God, man, love, honor, friendship, mercy, truth, justice, etc.? The answer is very simple: down topple the ideal stage-characters, down topples the good man of the play, down topple the hero and heroine. Without the above-named attributes can we have a hero or heroine? And if we have no hero and heroine, can we have a drama? (We can, but what kind of drama?) And right here is the bed-rock basis of my argument: How can we persuade our audiences to believe in the integrity of our heroes and heroines if we endow them with attributes that they are taught by intellectualism do not exist except in sporadic cases, and then perhaps as exceptions proving the rule of the absence of good from the universe and man? I am not contending that the hero or heroine should be stage puppets, that they should be completely perfect, that they should be all hero and heroine. But should they be all weakness? Should evil predominate in stage characters to such an extent that the human race seems incapable of any good whatsoever? Why should we hold up the weak, the vicious, the ugly, the horrible, as a warning, as something to be avoided, and not hold up the good, the perfect, the beautiful and the pure as examples to follow? Personally, I am for a combination—a skilful blending that gives the preponderating power to good and that robs evil of its charm and vice of its alluring qualities. I do not believe that the American dramatist should sneer at faith and hold virtue



up to ridicule, but this is the tendency of the times. The French husband whose wife deceives him is the national joke of France,—I do not know that this moral obliquity has either strengthened its position as a nation or added to the happiness of its people.

Whether the theater can survive the absence of romance, I know not—to a great or very great extent it has in Europe—but we have not yet reached that period in our development so aptly described in the *History of Greece* as “the apex dividing generation from degeneration.”

The difficulty of writing plays that are not based on the elemental passions, wherein the characters are complex and self-contradictory, as human beings in real life, is evidenced by the fact that not only are Ibsen and Shaw the only ones who can write the Ibsen and Shaw type of plays, but that they are the only ones who *do* write them. The play-market would be overflowed with them if our dramatists did not follow the line of easiest mental resistance, and these plays are not imitated because they are not easily imitated. Still, in spite of these obstacles, I believe that the effort would be made if their existence were justified commercially; but the truth is these plays are not nor ever can be popular, not because they are not true to human experience—for they are, if anything, too true—but because they rob the race of its highest ideals,—its hope and its faith in the efficacy of the good.

The character of Anton Von Barwig in the play “The Music Master” is an example of the power of optimism and the sublimity of self-sacrifice.

In “The Lion and the Mouse” the character of Shirley Rossmore shows the power of a weak girl to overcome a strong man by telling him the truth about himself. It is the survival of good and its power over evil.

In “The Daughters of Men” is typified the influence of woman over man in the struggle between capital and labor. The play is far more complex than the other two. It is more human; it is less

romantic, and consequently far less successful. As I have observed on a previous occasion, man has enthroned himself lord of creation, but the power behind this throne is woman. Since the beginning man has dealt with natural or material forces. To a certain extent he has overcome the laws of gravitation, annihilated time and space, overcome tide, wind, wave, etc., but whilst fighting physical forces he has reckoned little with and realized almost nothing of metaphysical forces. Woman is much more endowed with the inherent though unconscious power of the psychic self than man; hence her power of suggestion is greater than his, and it is through this power of suggestion that woman dominates, man, plays on his weaknesses, vanity and self-love, and sets in motion the ever-changing mental aspect he calls point-of-view, on which he bases his opinions, beliefs and ideas. He does not realize that gentle, loving woman is the motivating power, whilst he is the executive.

The sons of men rule the world, but the daughters of men govern it through the men. It is woman who founds society in its artificial aspects. It is woman who creates class distinctions and insists on maintaining them. It is woman who imbues man with desire to emulate, who instills into him social ambition, that inevitably brings in its train the restless fever of acquisition, the madness of gold, the ambition for power through financial success. It is the woman who is at once the social bulwark, the aristocrat and the snob. It is woman who cares for the petty observances and formalities of social life, and men, whose vanity and weaknesses become women's strength, pose as lords of creation, while they follow her in blind obedience to instinct and vanity, mutely acknowledging her power to lead and their own inability to refuse to follow. Men fight each other in the struggle for wealth, but they fight for woman's admiration. They fight that their women may maintain their position in the front ranks of the social world and so the battle goes on in each lower

strata of society, individual man fighting first for what is necessary for his existence, and then for the social supremacy he may give his female. He fights that his wife or his sister, or his daughter, or his mistress may be as good or better than the next man's. He does the fighting but it is the woman who suggests, inspires, encourages. It was the market-women of Paris, who, maddened with envy at the more fortunate courtesans' class, started the French Revolution. It was the extravagance, the immorality, the appeal to the selfish and animal instincts of men by the women of Versailles that primarily created the conditions that led to the Revolution. It is woman who creates the unrest in man—it is woman who must quell it.

In the play "The Daughters of Men" are a triangle of women—sharply contrasted types. I know of no better description than the French give us—*Le Grande Monde*, *Le Petit Monde* and *Le Demi Monde*—the upper world, or the aristocracy; the lower world, or the submerged tenth; and the courtesan world, or fast set. These three women are cause and effect. The upper world by its apathy and ostentation of wealth, the courtesan world by its extravagance and licentiousness, have produced a female third estate—the girl who hates; the girl who has been taught to hate; the girl who has been educated that she may hate scientifically. She is a by-product of false socialism and poverty and is easily the most interesting of the three groups, for she has beauty, genius and high spirits. She has been brought up on the doctrine of "do or you will be done," not "do unto others as you would they should do unto you." So when she is brought face to face with the daughter of aristocracy, the consequence is drama. She wounds the sensibilities of the patrician, but she makes her think and finally move—stirs her to action.

When the daughter of socialism comes in contact with the daughter of vice, she shocks her false sense of decorum, for the daughter of vice demands the perfection of good breeding in others, that

is so conspicuously absent in herself. It is a triangular duel between these three women—a curious exhibition of feminine psychology.

The daughter of the plutocracy and the daughter of the people love the same man. He is an idealist, and it is the difference in their method of showing this love that furnishes psychological values. The daughter of the people, as do certain materialistic skeptics, believes idealism to be weakness and thinks it her duty to strengthen the man she loves, to imbue him with the spirit of force of class-hatred. The French Revolution is always before her and she sees nothing but animal existence on earth. Force must be met with force, she reasons. This is false socialism.

On the other hand the daughter of aristocracy believes herself to be socially above but mentally inferior to the man, and is afraid she will interfere with his career of loving his neighbor as himself. She approves of the idea of good overcoming evil, but cannot rise to the point of self-sacrifice involved in carrying out the idea. Both women are willing to sacrifice themselves for him, but not for each other.

The courtesan looks on—laughs—wonders. She does n't care one way or the other; she does n't understand idealism and hates aristocracy because she can only play at it. She knows nothing beyond the fact that idealism threatens to interfere with the *tempo* of her existence, and that aristocracy despises her, because she has robbed it of one of its noble scions. She thinks both the upper and the lower world are peopled with fools who do n't know how to live, because they do n't know how to love—at least they do n't understand love as she understands it, and so she leaves the upper and lower-world women to fight it out alone, as the selfish "old families" of America to-day have left the unsophisticated reformer and the over-sophisticated politician to fight their battle in the political world.

This duel is the mental fight to a finish

between the two worlds as represented by the daughter of the classes against the daughter of the masses. The girl of the people and the lady of the highest social position meet and oppose each other primarily on the question of class differences, but really on the subject of their love for the man, and the girl of the people finally succumbs to the gentleness, honor, high feeling and fine breeding of the lady. But the lady has learned her lesson. The woman of the under world has taught her that the discontent of the people is not a mere ruffle on the surface of the times, brought about by Red Flag or green jealousy or Yellow Journal agitation, but is a deep-rooted resentment of the inhumanity of man to man as exemplified by the cold indifference, selfishness and brutal apathy of womankind to womankind. The girl of the people on her part finds out that self-repression and gentle manner mean more than mere class, more than mere good breeding—it means a something that she has not, and the absence of that something has lost for her the man she loves. That something she finds out is not social position plus finery, feathers and beauty; not temperament, headstrong will, a determination to be, to do, or to have, but a deep-rooted faith in the principle of good—a gentle, loving, kindly disposition with

a tendency to self-effacement—and this she discovers is the real copyright to the title of *lady*—the real cornerstone of aristocracy, and not as she imagined, mere plutocracy pluming itself in its newly-acquired finery, while its second generation is running through its ill-gotten inheritance in extravagant, riotous life. She realizes that society has to deal with its own carrion much the same as the people, and that the good and bad in all classes are always opposed. They both learn that the fight between the classes and the masses is envy, hatred and greed on one side, with avarice, apathy and self-indulgence on the other; that the hope of the future lies in the women of the world setting the men of the world an example, involving, if not self-denial, at least a repression of the passions of greed, avarice and brutal self-indulgence, which are at the base of all selfishness. This in turn will enable men to think more of their fellow-beings, to feel more for them, perhaps in time to love them; and the relation of capital and labor will resolve itself into a question of morals and not of economics. Woman has great responsibility: she brings children into the world—she must train them in the way they should go.

CHARLES KLEIN.

*New York City.*

## THE THEATER AS A POTENTIAL FACTOR FOR HIGHER CIVILIZATION, AND A TYPICAL PLAY ILLUSTRATING ITS POWER.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

"The theater is a crucible of civilization. It is a place of human communion. All its phases need to be studied. It is in the theater that the public soul is formed."—*Victor Hugo.*

### I. THE THEATER A CRUCIBLE OF CIVILIZATION.

SINCE the main purpose of the theater has been confessedly to entertain and amuse, most people have under-

valued the subtle but powerful influence for good or evil that it necessarily exerts over the popular imagination. The mind of man in many respects resembles the sensitive plate of the camera. It is ever receiving mental pictures—ideas which consciously or unconsciously influence in a positive way the thoughts and acts of after life. It is not necessary

for a man to be conscious of the fact that he is imbibing truth or error, exalted ideals or debasing concepts, for the effect to be made on the mental sensitive plate. Indeed, it is frequently the case that the most powerful and lasting impressions are made when the mind is unconscious of the fact that it is being influenced. This fact has so escaped the thought-moulders among our moral leaders that one of the greatest potential educators and engines for moral upliftment has been largely abandoned to men wanting in noble idealism, and too frequently to persons who are so dominated by money madness that they have not hesitated to pander to the vilest passions, stimulating the sensual side of life for the purpose of enriching their coffers, though in so doing they have necessarily made the stage, at times at least, a breeding place for moral miasma alike for actors and audiences.

The Greeks more than any other people known to civilization appreciated the tremendous educational power of the drama over the popular imagination. They made the theater one of the most effective bonds that bound the distant colonies to Attica. In speaking of this fact, Victor Hugo points out that "in the interest of civilization Greece" invariably in her small colonies, even in the remotest outposts, far from the throbbing heart of Attica, "by the side of the citidel had a theater." The Greeks understood the potential influence which it exerted when the great plays of Æschylus and other masters were produced. They knew it would serve to keep "alive the flame of love for the fatherland." Moreover, "this civilization by Poetry and Art had such a mighty force that it sometimes subdued even war. The Sicilians, as Plutarch relates in speaking of Nicias, gave liberty to the Greek prisoners who sang the verses of Erupides."

That the theater must exert a positive influence on the human mind for good or ill is apparent to any thoughtful person who considers that it speaks to the reason when it is off guard, as it were, and

ready to receive the message. It appeals to the emotions—the most powerful element in the nature of man, and it addresses the auditor in the most effective possible manner, by eye as well as ear. Even those who cannot follow arguments, readily understand the facts involved if presented in a vivid picture, as an act on the stage. And when the eye helps the understanding at every step, and at the same time the imagination is reinforced by a powerful appeal to the emotional nature, it is evident the auditor cannot escape the subtle and compelling influence of the theater, especially if the play is well presented, so as to not offend the esthetic or artistic instincts of the beholder.

## II. HOW THE THEATER CAN MAKE FOR PROGRESS.

There are many ways in which the stage can be made the handmaid of progress. One class of plays foster a broader culture, stimulating interest in history and the master creations of literature, acquainting the reader with important events and with customs, dress and habits of thought of former ages, while awakening trains of thought that not unfrequently lead to noble intellectual productions. Shakespeare's historical masterpieces are admirable examples of the value of the drama as a popular intellectual educator and stimulator. This is especially the case where the plays are produced with due regard to historical verity, as were the productions of Henry Irving and Richard Mansfield, and where the chief actors are men of rich imagination and deep insight, so that they can sound the depths of the master dramatist's great creations, bringing out and emphasizing the thought and truths that are most important and illuminating in them, as was done by such actors as Edwin Booth, Edwin Forrest and John McCullough.

Again, the stage becomes a popular educator when it adequately presents masterpieces of literature, as was done by Mrs. Fiske in her dramatization of *Vanity Fair* and as is done when any



Photo, by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE LION AND THE MOUSE."

(Shirley Rossmore and John Ryder)



of the great problem plays of the master thinkers are presented in such a manner as to lay bare the evils of present conditions while luminously indicating a way out of the labyrinth of human misery and degradation due to evil acts and unjust conditions.

To-day social and economic problems are looming so large on the horizon of civilization and are so appealing to the consideration of all thoughtful and conscientious persons, that plays which appeal to the imagination of the people in a helpfully suggestive manner are efficient allies of peaceful progress.

No one who saw E. S. Willard's production of "The Middleman" could fail to see and feel the force of the essentially unjust social conditions that prevail and which the apostles of the dollar-worshipping feudalism of wealth seek in every possible manner to obscure.

Many of these problem plays which deal with social and economic conditions fail, however, of their purpose because they merely present an evil condition without showing the way out or emphasizing any fundamental spiritual truth essential to a real solution of unhappy conditions. We have witnessed many powerful dramas which have uncovered social injustice in a striking and almost startling manner, but which because of the cynicism or sense of hopelessness that pervaded them failed of effective good because they left the mind of the theater-going public in the dark and with a sense of depression or hopelessness pervading it. True, the student who had the time and disposition might see a way out, might understand that the employment of certain great spiritual and economic laws based on justice would reverse conditions and bring light, order, peace and progress where there is now inharmony and chaos. But the majority of theater-goers have neither the time nor the disposition to reason deeply on things that they imagine do not touch their daily lives in a vital way. Now if the playwright had flooded the production with the light of moral

idealism, if he had shown with a few luminous happenings or precepts, introduced as part of the web and woof of the play and not as a sermon lugged in, how the entrance of justice and love would foster the reign of brotherhood, in which no man would be wronged and each would reap what he had sown, the play, so negative and depressing in its effect, would have become morally invigorating, a positive educational factor indirectly elevating all who came under its influence.

It is, therefore, a subject of profound satisfaction to those who realize that moral idealism or "the vision" is the hope of a nation, to find a dawning recognition of this high demand on the twentieth century drama by certain playwrights. In "A Message from Mars" we had a fine illustration of a play that revealed present conditions in a compelling manner while impressing redemptive ideas.

But it is in the recent dramas of Charles Klein that we see the most effective work in this direction. Here are plays of present-day life so true to prevailing conditions, so intensely human, so strong in dramatic power, and yet so free from cheap melodramatic tricks and subterfuges, that they at once arouse and compel attention. They carry the audience with them in a manner possible only when the playwright is a master of his craft. And yet they are instinct with moral virility. They uncover evil conditions convincingly while being luminous with moral idealism, so interwoven as to reveal the way out of the tangled maze in which men and women are fighting at cross purposes in the realm of modern materialistic commercialism. No one can see such plays as "The Lion and the Mouse" and "The Daughters of Men" without being forced to take cognizance of sinister present-day social and economic conditions, without being forced to think seriously, and also without seeing and feeling that the salvation of civilization, the hope, happiness and elevation of man and nation, are dependent on the exercise of

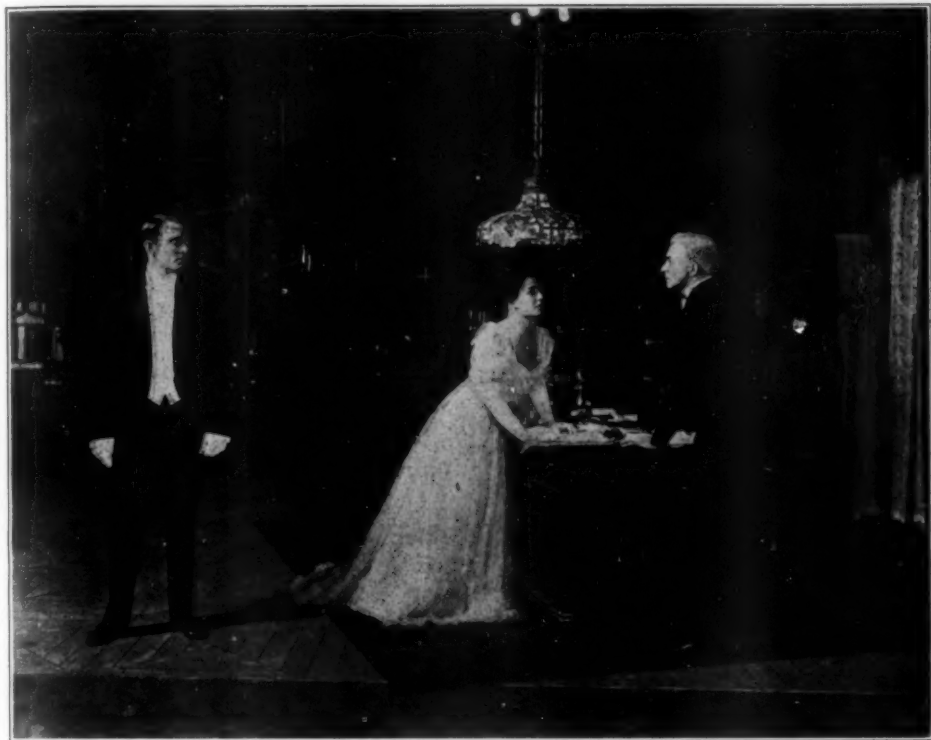


Photo. by White, New York.

SCENE FROM THE "LION AND THE MOUSE."

(Young Ryder, Shirley Rossmore, and John Ryder).

that spirit of love which includes justice and which is great enough to rise above selfish desire.

One illuminating illustration of the power of Mr. Klein's plays over men in different stations of life is found in the following news item published in the *Enquirer*, of Buffalo, New York:

"The value of the drama as a teacher is gaining recognition. 'The Daughters of Men' is furnishing a case in point that is worth noting. Upon the occasion of its presentation at Wilkesbarre, Pa., the play was witnessed by an employer of labor who was so impressed with the intimate and comprehensive knowledge of the labor *versus* capital problem manifested by its author, Charles Klein, that he sent the foreman of his extensive plant,

which had just passed through an irritating strike, to Scranton, where the play was to be given on the following evening. The foreman, accompanied by several of the men in his charge, were likewise delighted with the play and on their return next day said to their employer that they had learned through the lucid stage presentation that what really seemed insurmountable differences between employer and wage-workers were often really trivial affairs easy of adjustment were the professional agitator eliminated. The employer confessed also that he had in mind duplicates of the capitalists of the play—who thought like them, acted like them and maintained the same attitude toward their employés. 'The Daughters of Men' held the mirror up to both this employer and his workmen. The Wilkes-

## 502 *The Theater as a Potential Factor for Higher Civilization.*

barre *Times*, in commenting on this fact, said: 'Mr. Klein has written a play that must eventuate in much benefit to both capital and labor by pointing the way to amicable adjustment of differences.'"

Here we have a typical illustration of the power inherent in a noble play to

private life and covering with ignominy the incorruptible popular servants, that has been presented in dramatic literature.

John Ryder, the master character in this play, is a colossal composite creation that is thoroughly typical. "It is John D. Rockefeller and H. H. Rogers rolled into one", said a discerning critic who had



Photo. by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE LION AND THE MOUSE."

(Young Ryder, Shirley Rossmore and John Ryder).

make for peace, brotherhood and social righteousness.

### III. "THE LION AND THE MOUSE" AND ITS MASTER TYPICAL FIGURE.

Mr. Klein's "The Lion and the Mouse" gave America the most powerful drama uncovering the modern feudalism of privilege at work in acquiring immense wealth, in corrupting and thus destroying free government, and in driving into

a somewhat wide experience in Wall street. Certain it is that the character reflects in an almost startling manner the dominant spirit of the masters in the modern feudalism of privileged wealth. As a study of the present-day Cræsus, the masterful mind, keen, penetrating, brilliant and resourceful on the intellectual plane, but morally blind, the character of John Ryder has no equal in American literature. Here is a supremely tragic phenomenon appearing as a product of

civilization after two thousand years of Christianity—a man splendidly endowed with a masterful intellect, but morally insane. He sees no moral criminality in secretly ruining a man who through long years of patient and honorable labor has built up a good business; he sees no criminality in corrupting the people's servants and in elevating to places of power venal tools who will render safe his evasions of law, or who will prevent the people from redressing the wrongs for which he and his corporations are responsible; he sees no criminality in deliberately compassing the removal of and disgracing a judge whose only offense is that he has refused to be false to his oath of office, refused to perjure his soul and betray the people when the head of the master trust demanded that he should do so. John Ryder is indeed a typical modern high financier, a Warwick in the domain of the commercial feudalism, a man keenly awake on the intellectual plane but crazed by greed for gold—morally insane. He is as one on a vessel, who has gone into the hold and closed and fastened the hatches, and who is wandering in the dark vainly imagining he is basking in the sunshine. The ruthless spirit of the gold-crazed masters of Wall street, the power they are exerting over the people's servants, their insatiable appetite for gold, their ruthless spoliation of the people, their defiance of law, their contempt for justice—all these things are brought out vividly in the representation of the life and spirit of John Ryder and in the incidents that illuminate his life.

In this play we have another master character, Shirley Rossmore, the brilliant young woman who under the *nom de plume* of Miss Green enters the home of John Ryder. She represents the divine feminine, the spirit that is instinct with the moral fervor that redeems. True, to save her father, the judge whom Ryder is ruthlessly seeking to destroy, she commits deception and does things that bring their own punishment, as do, sooner or later, all infractions of the moral law;

but in Shirley Rossmore the preponderating influence is moral idealism. She uncovers the essential criminality of the daily practices of John Ryder and compels the magnate to see himself stripped of the raiment of respectability which he employs in an effort to deceive himself and others. She removes the bandage from his moral vision, much against his will; but in the end, after a long battle with his lower self, signs of moral sanity are seen and a growing disposition to yield to the compulsion of moral idealism.

In "The Lion and the Mouse" the mental master and moral maniac we call the high financier or trust magnate is exposed to view in his true character. Here the inordinate avarice that clouds all spiritual perception is laid bare by a master hand, while the spiritual truth that must be evoked—nay, that must be made the dominant note in national life if the Republic is to be restored to its early position as a moral world-power and a leader of civilization, is suggested.

It is, however, in Mr. Klein's later play, "The Daughters of Men," that this great truth is most luminously brought out.

#### IV. "THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN" AS A SOCIAL STUDY.

As in all Mr. Klein's plays, the dialogue in this drama is bright, natural and convincing. There is nothing stilted, artificial or foreign to the story. The characters are real flesh and blood human personalities. The drama pulsates with the play of intense human emotions and it is strong in dramatic situations, which, however, unlike the climaxes in melodramas, develop so naturally that the auditor's credulity is not taxed. What happens, though often surprising, is precisely what might naturally be expected to take place under the existing circumstances. Hence the play is nobly realistic while being instinct with lofty spiritual idealism. It is a miniature representation of the nation-wide struggle now going on between the feudalism of priv-

ileged wealth and organized labor in which idealism and the materialism of the market, duty and human love, jostle one another at every turn; while in both the opposing camps is revealed that extreme egoism that breeds moral insanity aggressively fighting the broad spiritual principles that are the vital breath of true civilization and which alone furnish the key to the peaceful and permanent solution of the age-long struggle.

In his deeply thoughtful paper contributed to this issue, Mr. Klein has given us a splendid analysis of the three typical characters that suggest the title of this drama; and since he has dwelt so luminously on what they represent as typical figures in the struggle between darkness and light at the present time, we shall consider the play chiefly as a

social study, noting its special bearing on the great conflict now on in the industrial world.

The leading characters of the play are strictly typical. Their words and actions are so characteristic as instantly to carry conviction to the mind. One feels instinctively that they are not actors but master-spirits among the men and women actually engaged in the momentous struggle now being waged between light and darkness, between that fundamental democracy that is based on freedom, justice and fraternity, and the materialistic ideal of class government represented in the Republic to-day by the arrogant feudalism of privileged wealth.

Side by side with the spirit of modern commercialism, so graphically represented by Matthew Crosby, whose swollen

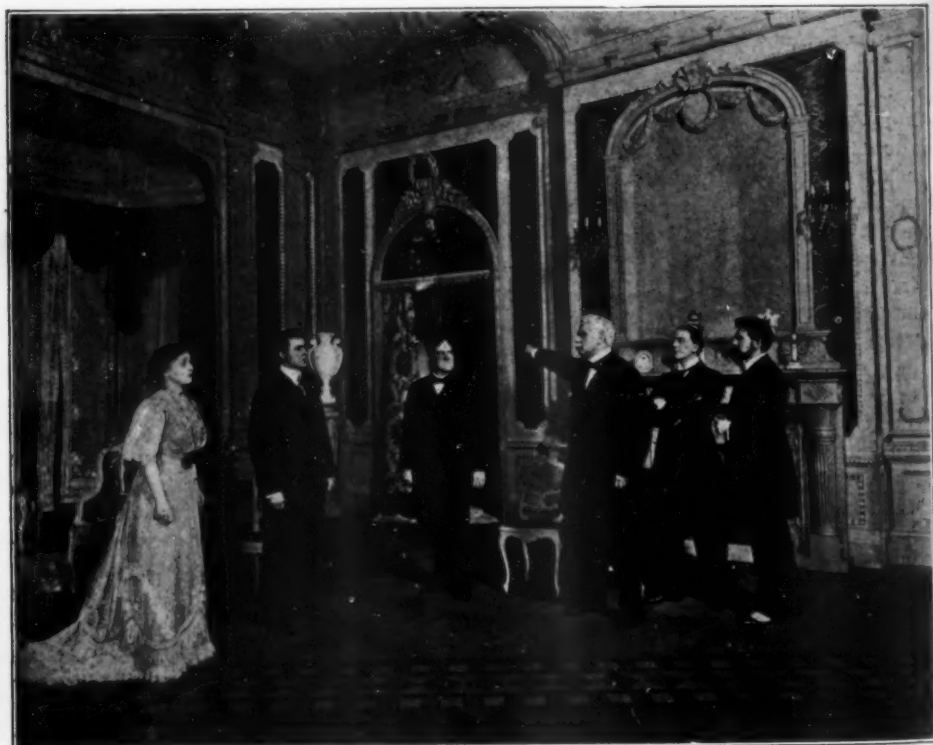


Photo. by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN."

(Grace Crosby, John Stedman, James Burrell, Richard Millbank, Matthew Crosby and James Thedford).





Photo. by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN."

(John Stedman and the three typical women of the play, Mrs. Reginald Crosby, Louise Stolbeck and Grace Crosby).

fortune is so largely due to indirection and who indignantly resents his uncle's suggestion of arbitration, virtually insisting that the relation of capital and labor must be that of master and slave, and furthermore that the relation of the capitalistic producer to the consumers be that of the privileged monopolist who levies usurious extortion, we have in Richard Milbank the type of the older order of capitalists—the man of commanding intellect but who is also influenced by moral idealism. The difference between these typical men is strongly brought out when the uncle reasons with his nephews on the strike situation and strives to show them the more excellent way than the one they are pursuing and which is jeopardizing their fortunes on the one hand and creating untold misery among the poor on the other; and the

earnest pleadings of the elder man give us a glimpse of the great secret of life and death in the social organism in nation and civilization. We see on the one hand a masterful, determined, ruthless egoism battling for physical and mental supremacy, regardless of the law of solidarity or the ethical issues involved; while on the other hand we have the same masterful intellectual power that is presented in the gold-crazed egoist, but here the moral vision has not been blinded or the conscience silenced. Here the intellect is the servant of the ideal of right. Its supreme allegiance is yielded to the divine demand of the spiritual nature. When the aged capitalist tells his nephews that when he was a master-spirit in the great works and the workmen had a grievance, he called the leaders together, had them state fully and freely their views of the

situation, after which he presented his side of the case, and then in the spirit of friendship and brotherhood they strove to reach an amicable settlement, in which usually both sides made concessions, we are made to see the play of those principles that ever enthrone right above cunning or might and that differentiate the spiritually illuminated soul or the altruist from the egoist.

And is not here the crux of the whole age-long struggle between might and right? Is not here the real difference between the prophet and liberator and the master or tyrant? Call the roll of the distinguished ones who have won an immortality of infamy or of glory throughout the ages, and see how naturally they fall into two classes. In the case of the great fatal figures of history we shall find that though the immediate motive impulse has been sometimes one thing and sometimes another, it has always been marked by the subordination of the higher nature to selfish desires; always it has been accompanied by partial or total spiritual blindness. Thus with Alexander the Great, lust for power and conquest blinded his moral perceptions. With Caligula moral insanity expressed itself in lust for blood. Nero's sensual gratifications companioned the fierce delight which the savage feels as he witnesses the sufferings of his victims; while with the gold-crazed moral maniacs of our present-day plutocracy it is an insatiable hunger for wealth, an inordinate desire to heap up dollars, regardless of how they may be acquired.

In the early scenes of "The Daughters of Men" we see in the lives of the two women of the Crosby household the same line of cleavage between life and death, altruism and egoism. Mrs. Reginald Crosby has been an actress. Reveling in the mimic world, she has lived for self and has nourished her vanity. She has mistaken the artificial, superficial, and ephemeral for the genuine, fundamental and enduring. She has succeeded in ensnaring Reginald Crosby, who is another

type of the egoist—the man who has abandoned himself to the gratification of his fleshly desires; and now, unsatisfied amid her great wealth, which she once imagined would give her enduring happiness, she is seeking relief from *ennui* by indulging in those insane exhibitions of the new rich that have so scandalized American society life in recent years, such as monkey banquets and suppers to pet dogs. Her contempt for the wealth-creators who toil with their hands is but one of many signs of the startling and tragic spectacle of spiritual blindness among those who through accident of birth or association have reached a point where they do not find it necessary to toil for a livelihood.

This profound anesthesia of the spiritual life seems more terrible and repellant in a woman than in a man, and here it is brought into bold contrast by being placed by the side of Grace Crosby's partially awakened moral nature. Grace has been born and reared in a home of luxury and has been held in thrall by the soul-deadening influences of her environment. She has from babyhood breathed the atmosphere of moral death that permeates so many homes of the new-rich of the present time. But in her the divine spirit is only lightly slumbering, and when the ideals of justice and right are presented by John Stedman, the brilliant young lawyer who is the labor leader in the great strike, she feels instinctively the majesty of moral idealism. Still for a time her environment holds her in bondage and confuses her vision; so she reminds us of the blind man during the first moments after the Great Galilean had drawn away the veil and he "saw trees as men walking."

Passing from the camp of capital we enter the army of labor as presented in this remarkable play, and here again we see the same struggle with a different background. Here indeed the revealing truth showing the fundamental or secret moving principles that make for life or death, for happiness or unsatisfied yearn-

Photo

ings,  
brou  
in th  
whic  
intro  
force  
of th  
leade  
ment  
unde  
He i  
from  
from  
of lea  
sin,  
ignor  
ideal  
fathe  
State  
he h

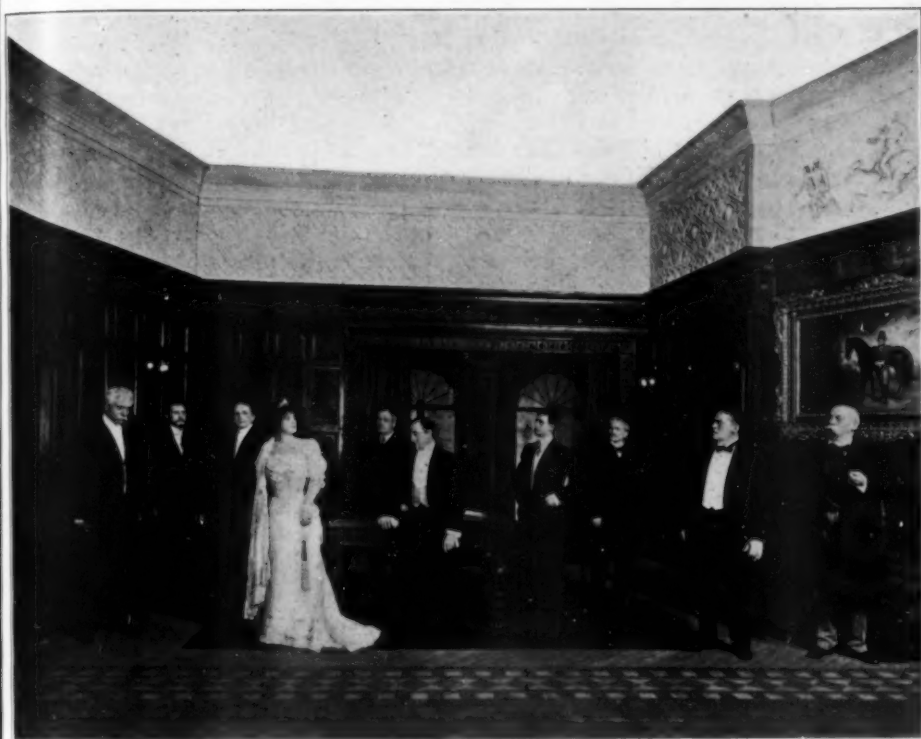


Photo by White, New York.

SCENE FROM "THE DAUGHTERS OF MEN."

(Richard Millbank, James Thedford, Mathew Crosby, Mrs. Reginald Crosby, Patrick McCarthy, Reginald Crosby, John Stedman, Oscar Lockett, James Burruss, Louis Stolbeck.

ings, for growth or disintegration, is brought out, if possible, even more clearly in the second division of the play, in which the curtain is lifted and we are introduced to the master-spirit among the forces of labor. John Stedman is the type of the morally-awakened reformer, the leader who is safe because he is not only mentally acute and well-poised, but is under the compulsion of moral idealism. He is a lawyer who has come East from the West. He had graduated from one of those magnificent institutions of learning like the University of Wisconsin, where the spiritual verities are not ignored or subordinated to reactionary ideals. The young labor leader's grandfather had been the governor of his native State; his father was a clergyman; and he had early learned to place right above

all selfish considerations, to love justice and to follow the ideal of the Golden Rule. Hence when, after coming East, he found that the men in the employ of the Milbank & Crosby Federated Companies were not receiving sufficient return for their long hours of labor to enable them to support their families in comfort, to properly educate their children or to lay up money for the days of illness and the winter of age, while at the same time the masters of the bread-winners were watering their stock so that the actual earnings on the money invested were almost incredibly fabulous, he at once championed the cause of the strikers, bringing into the movement the moral enthusiasm that always makes a cause formidable.

His mastery over the men has been

such as to prevent any violence or lawlessness on the part of the toilers that would have ensued from the irresponsible and revolutionary spirits ever present among the forces of toil and who are either the victims of blind emotionalism or the slaves of an egoism less intelligent but none the less pronounced than that which governs our Rockefellers, Rogerses, Morgans, Ryans, Belmonts, Harrimans and other master-spirits in the plutocracy, who to-day are exerting such a baleful and morally-disintegrating influence on society. More than this, by a clear statement of the facts involved, by showing that the men were not receiving the fruit of their industry, as the financial returns of the factory revealed, and that all the workers demanded was justice, John Stedman had turned the tide of public opinion in favor of the workers, and among the thousands who came under the spell of his exalted purpose and compelling oratory was Grace Crosby.

Love springs up between these two young people and is the cause of the first great testing temptation that confronts the young man—a temptation such as comes to every moral leader who is worthy to guide the people out of the darkness into the light. When in the Crosby mansion the representatives of the plutocracy, realizing the intellectual brilliancy and power of Stedman and appreciating the immense importance of detaching such a man from the people's cause, offer to withdraw all objections to his marriage with their sister and at the same time offer to make him one of their well-paid legal counsel, thus opening up to him an easy path to the acquisition of great wealth and popular distinction, we see the young man face to face with one of the most powerful and seductive temptations. Union with the one woman in the world who commands his love, wealth, worldly success and eminence, all are offered as the price of duty, of fealty to the proverbially ungrateful multitude. And then, to make the temptation still stronger, the young woman,

only partially awakened to the greater things of life, cannot understand why her lover should refuse her for the rabble, thus missing the crucial point at issue and throwing her influence on the side of moral death. Here is one of the supreme temptations that come sooner or later, in one form or another, to each soul who resolutely rises above sense perceptions that he may be true to the vision. The refusal of John Stedman to be false to right, even for the love of an idolized woman, because he knows that such yielding will forfeit his right to the only kind of love that can ennoble, sustain and nourish the soul, marks the true leader, the modern savior, the idealist who will not be false to the divine promptings that guide ever onward and upward.

In James Burress, the visionless revolutionary who longs to resort to force and mob violence, and perhaps in a somewhat less degree in Louis Stolbeck and in the revolutionary editor, Oscar Lackett, we have the other typical representatives of extreme egoism that move in the cellar of being, with the windows opening to the spiritual heights closely shut and the blinds drawn. With them hate rather than love is the dominant note. They are awakened only on the plane of sense perception. They thirst for precisely the things that are the master-desires of the great egoists of our plutocracy. To abandon a cause to this element would be merely to exchange masters—to invite, indeed, a riot of license and passion in which reason no less than right would be engulfed by selfish impulses and desires. The real reformer, the man who strives for true progress, knows that only as we are true to the eternal moral verities, only as we are loyal to the ideal of love, which includes justice and is splendidly epitomized in the Golden Rule, can man, nations or civilizations advance. Hate, which begets war, violence and resort to force, is inimical to progress or the happiness of man. It turns the dial-hand backward, not forward. The true

leader knows that only as man comes under the compulsion of love can real progress or the victory that means human advancement and upliftment be achieved. And this is the supreme lesson that John Stedman has learned; this it is that makes him a type of the world-conquerer of the ages, in contradistinction to the world-spoilers who imagine themselves leaders and masters.

Louise Stolbeck is another typical figure. Hers is a human soul groping for the light. Her early environment had been the opposite of Grace Crosby's in most respects. In one way, however, both were alike. Each life had advanced to womanhood in a home dominated by egoism. But neither wealth with its soul-withering influence, nor poverty with its bitterness, had silenced the divine promptings in the souls of these two children, one of the froth and the other of the dregs of modern commercialism. Hence when the true leader's voice was raised they heard the appeal to the divine in their own hearts; they saw the beauty never known on the purely sensual plane. What though at first each imagined it was the messenger instead of the message of moral majesty that had moved the profoundest depths of their being? Their after acts attested to the fact that it was the greater glory that had touched the holiest well-springs of their being.

It is in the closing part of this great play that the luminous truth which is the master-lesson of the hour is most beautifully impressed. Here we find the extremes meeting—the egoists of the surface and the egoists of the depths, mutually distrustful, arrogant, defiant and filled with self-desire and hate. Between the two groups is the embodiment of love,

the way-shower who stands as Jesus stood for the fundamental principles of justice and brotherhood—stands for love-illuminated right. But here as in all other ages, his voice is an unknown tongue to the egoists at the zenith and the nadir. Both feel that he menaces their selfish desires, and the two incarnations of darkness—the money-mad magnate who is drunk with plunder but whose thirst seems to be beyond quenching, and the hate-crazed denizen of the underworld who is thirsting for the same vintage—combine to destroy the messenger of peace and civilization. But here, as has often been the case in the past, in the cloud-canopied midnight hour shines forth the light that ever illuminates the spiritual heights—the light that feeds the soul and makes one man greater than an army with banners. At the moment when, thoughtless of self and crushed only because he feels that all his struggle and sacrifice have been in vain, we see the imperial power of moral idealism manifested in the self-renunciation of Louise Stolbeck and in the spiritual exaltation that floods the soul of Grace Crosby, enabling her to see the true victor in her hero when even he imagines he has failed.

This play shows that the redemption of man, nations and civilizations lies only in spiritual idealism, only in love—that broad, justice-encircling and all-comprehending love that subordinates every thought of self in the presence of others' needs and rights, and which neither the lure of gold, power or fame nor yet the ingratitude of those it seeks to aid can swerve from the path of duty.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Mass.*



## STATESMANSHIP AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY: A SYLLOGISM IN BARBARA.

By ST. CLAIR CREIGHTON.

**I**T WOULD not be fanciful, perhaps, to draw a distinction between statesmanship and statecraft. Statecraft—is not that the diplomatic finesse of the councilors of kings, “who sit plotting and playing their high chess games whereof the pawns are men” and whose efforts are directed primarily to the aggrandizement of the throne and the extension of the empire, rather than the commonweal? Is there not a legitimate distinction to be made between the statesman’s wise sincerity, which takes into its confidence the people, and that statecraftiness which Louis XI. inculcated in the education of his son, Charles VIII., of whom is it written that the only Latin he ever learned was the Jesuitical maxim, “*Qui necit dissimulare, necit regnare*”—who knows not to dissemble, knows not how to rule? Statecraft finds its true home in despotisms; whereas, statesmanship has no fair field for its exercise outside of a free country.

The supreme business of the statesman is the prosperity of the state. But the vocation of the statesman is the avocation of us all—save the anarchist, who has no use for the State.

Anarchism is Individualism gone mad and running amuck.

Communism, on the other hand, is Socialism demented, but only feeble-minded and harmless.

The sane Individualist and the rational Socialist, however, both propose the prosperity of the state, though differing widely as to the ways and means for the attainment of the desired end, because deeply differing touching what should be held to constitute and realize national prosperity.

A clear definition of national prosperity from the standpoints of the individualist and the socialist, respectively, would seem imperative to clarify the issue between these contending forces which comprise, in the last analysis, the entire peoples of the world.

It may be remarked, without a digression impertinent to the purpose of this paper, that there would seem to be a psychological difference between individualists and mergers (socialists). This difference may be suggested by the superficial characteristics of mercury and oil. Pour mercury upon a table and it runs into a million distinct globules; pour out oil and, so close is the cohesion of the drops, it runs in a coagulated stream. The first may be taken as a type of virility, entity, independence; the second, as the type of femininity, weakness, dependence. The merger will readily fall into the lock-step of organization and be dominated by it in politics, in religion, in business, in social regulations and in “half-baked isms.” It is so easy to shout and so troublesome to think. “Make it an edict,” is his watchword. Men should be made to think alike and drink alike by act of the legislature. He will look to the government as the highest expression of power and the source of wealth, and will instinctively expect that it must do a great deal for him. The individualist, on the contrary, holds touching government, that “like the atmosphere we breathe, we are the best off with respect to it when we have least reason to be conscious of its existence.” As a Home Ruler, the individualist begins with his township, or municipality, and ends with the national government; whereas, the

merger begins with his Nation with a "big N," and the individual is the vanishing point. The autonomy of the sovereign citizen must be duly subordinated to the requirements of a paternal government.

The foregoing attempt at a differentiation of the two houses that have been perpetually contending for the throne of supremacy in the dominion of Mind, is offered as accounting for some of the inherent difficulties to be encountered in bringing forward a mutually acceptable definition of national prosperity.

It is not within the province of a proponent of individualism, if, indeed, the writer felt himself competent, to define national prosperity as conceived by the socialist; but he would much appreciate a comprehensive definition from a representative socialist that was comprehended in something less than the lids of a fat book.

Thus much, however, may confidently be asserted: The gravamen of the Socialist indictment against existing conditions in the body politic, lies to the obvious fact of the unemployed and the necessary concomitant, labor cheated of its full reward. Make invalid this indictment and Socialism has nothing, in all its opulent programme, to invoke as a marching word.

But it is quite possible for the individualist to be compact in definition. He assumes to state it thus:

There can be no prosperity deserving the name National save the common weal; a prosperity that permeates the entire body of the people, elevating the masses as yeast leavens the loaf; *a prosperity which has for sign and manifest multiplied opportunity for the remunerative employment of the nation's involuntarily idle men and women.*

The preceding definition, it will be noted, ignores, as inconclusive indicia of national prosperity, a plethoric treasury, a large per capita of circulating media of exchange, and the exercise of dominion over dependencies or a wide domain of

country. The one sufficient requirement is that there shall be palpably in evidence multiplied opportunity for the remunerative employment of the nation's involuntarily idle.

Without entering upon a defensive elaboration of the above definition at this time, the writer challenges a refutation of the adequacy of the theoretical proposition. Assuming it to be irrefutable, the conclusion follows, of course, that the supreme business of the statesman is to discover and then endeavor to inaugurate such economic measures in his country as will afford the necessary conditions stated. The statesman's problem may appear to him difficult, if not impossible, the more so, perhaps, because he will look over the world in vain, to-day, for the country which approximately fulfils such requirement. But the problem is not insolvable. The student who is schooled in the economic philosophy of Henry George does not hesitate to point the way, confidently tendering a key which he would apply in release of what he deems a mewed-up and land-locked prosperity.

The exhaustless treasure house of the physical earth is the source of all natural opportunities. Should the visible wealth of the world be destroyed to-morrow, there yet abides in the breast of the fecund mother of us all a potential supply to be extracted very far in excess of that she has already yielded to her importunate children. And yet, it is a little world, and incapable of expansion. Indeed, by virtue of the rapidly multiplying millions of creatures upon its surface, but far more by reason of certain man-made regulations touching control of it, it is practically contracting. When we take into account that a large portion of the globe is uninhabitable or unavailable for man's occupancy (as, for instance, the "multitudinous seas," the regions of the poles, and under the equator) and the realization further comes to us that the long march of the race, beginning in Asia, across the realms and across the

ages, has at last reached the Pacific, "the great world" seems a misnomer. "The trail ends here," writes the California poet.

Recurring to the most important factor in the apparent diminution of the available earth, *i. e.*, the man-made institutional regulations touching the tenure of the source of all wealth, it is easily demonstrable that governments have in effect ordained special privileges inuring to land-holders. They may be said to have letters-patent as toll-takers at the gates of natural opportunities. In view of what has been said regarding the limited area of the available surface of the earth and its inexpansibility, coupled with consideration of the rapid increase of animated creation, which must draw all of its sustenance from the soil, it must be conceded that "to have and to hold" any portion of such limited supply is to be seized of a special privilege. By no Procrustean process can the pie be cut so that it will "go round." If one owns and holds out of use considerable land areas, by that much the utilizable earth is diminished. But, the exercise or enjoyment of special privilege, under any democratic theory of government, should entail upon the beneficiary thereof an equitable burden in compensation to the unprivileged, reaching such persons in their communal capacity, by relieving them of tax burdens necessary to the support of government. The equities that obtain in favor of the landless (by reason of his deprivation of direct access to the common earth, which constitutes a constructive special privilege running with the landlord) are made more apparent in a consideration of what is called the dynamics of the Single-Tax.

Expositors of the George doctrine, in discussing its fiscal features, point out that to gather governmental revenues through the agency of a tax upon land values solely, is not to exact from individuals their legitimate earnings, but is only the appropriation, for governmental uses, of values created by the people in

their communal capacity. In other words, that land values are site values, which rise or depreciate in proportion as population presses for accommodation. It is obvious that all municipal improvements find immediate reflection in enhancement of the values of city lots.

Now the claim is made by the single-taxer (who is fundamentally an individualist) that he is prepared to maintain by an irrefrangible chain of argument: (1) that the application of his system of gathering all governmental taxes from land values—taking the communal product, or unearned increment, incident to landlordism for communal purposes—will *ipso facto* work the dispossession of all purely speculative land holdings, and (2) that such holdings will thereupon become directly accessible for the occupancy and beneficial use of millions of the world's disinherited, and (3) that, as a concomitant, the *sine qua non* to holding realty will involve its beneficial use and improvement by owners, and, finally, that thereby an incomputable activity will be set in motion in every field of human endeavor, all sufficient to afford multiplied opportunity for the remunerative employment of the involuntarily idle.

In conclusion, while it may be urged that morality is a factor to be included in an acceptable definition of national prosperity, it should be remembered that all students of the science of government concur in the belief that to improve the material well-being of a people is to ameliorate their moral and physical condition. In any case, the statesman's business is with the material prosperity of the State. Reforms in the morals and habits of a people must be left to the preacher, the teacher, the lecturer, to society in its social regulations and to domestic influence in the formation of character.

That the statesman is a single-taxer may be formulated, then, in the following syllogism:

1. A statesman's supreme business is the prosperity of the state.

2. (a) A prosperous state is one where-  
in multiplied opportunity is constantly af-  
forded for the remunerative employment  
of the nation's involuntarily idle. (b) A  
single tax on land values in operation will  
insure such multiplied opportunity, etc.

Ergo, 3. A statesman is chiefly con-  
cerned about the inauguration by the  
nation of a single tax on land values.

W. ST. CLAIR CREIGHTON.

*Los Angeles, California.*

## HAVE WE PASSED THE ZENITH OF OUR INDUSTRIAL EFFICIENCY?

By J. W. BENNETT.

CAREFUL analysis of Bulletin No. 57, Department of Commerce and Labor, seems to give an affirmative answer. This bulletin summarizes a census of manufactures for 1905. It indicates unmistakably impaired efficiency on the part of our manufacturing population. Impairment appears as to the rank and file of the workers and as to the managing or superintending forces.

More capital is being used per wage-earner; a larger superintending force is required for the same number of workers, and still the net value produced per wage-earner or salaried employé, shows a decided decrease. In other words, each worker is producing less than he was five years ago, although he is using more expensive machinery in the process. To present the matter in a more specific form:

1. The average annual net value produced per wage-earner in manufacturing industries has fallen in five years from \$872 to \$815. In factories proper the fall in five years has been from \$834 to \$780, the latter figure but a slight increase over 1890. These figures are corrected to uniform price. Net annual value produced per wage-earner has fallen in the hand trades from \$1107 to \$1050.

2. Average real wages have fallen slightly in the same period from \$438 a year to \$430 in all manufacturing enterprises. In the neighborhood and hand

trades, the fall has been from \$529 to \$519. While the hand trades show a falling off, it will be noticed that their product per wage-earner is about 40 per cent. in excess of the factory product and the scale of wages is about 25 per cent. in excess.

3. Salaries of managers, clerks, etc., measured in purchasing power, have decreased within the five years preceding 1905. This decrease shows in both factories and hand industries.

4. It would seem as though wage-earners, as a whole, received in 1905 a slightly greater share of the net values produced than they did in 1900 or in 1890, but decreased efficiency as compared with 1900 leaves them absolutely less.

5. Salaried men got a greater share of net values produced in 1905 than in 1900, but it was because they were more numerous, relatively and absolutely. It took a greater number of them to look after the business at greater expense, but their work showed poorer results. The management was decidedly less efficient.

6. A greater share of the fund paid for service was given salaried men in 1905 than in 1900, although the real salary of each individual was less. There is no basis of comparison between 1905 and 1890 on that point, for the salaries reported in 1890 included the salaries of owners and officers, actual or estimated, while for 1900 and 1905, owners and offi-



cers were listed by number by the census takers, but their salaries were excluded from the aggregate of salaries paid. In 1905 this class numbered 225,704 and it is obvious that their salaries made up a very important item, greatly increasing the expenses of management and making the showing for efficient superintendence much worse even than I have here indicated. On the other hand, some highly-paid foremen who appeared as wage-earners in 1890, appeared as salaried men in 1900 and 1905. This change, however, was insignificant as compared with excluding the salaries of officers and owners.

7. Capital employed per salaried man shows a steady increase, amounting to fifty per cent., from 1890 to 1900. Much more capital is required per worker in the factories than in the neighborhood or hand industries. Either the machinery is more expensive or there is more water in the capitalization.

8. Gross capital returns, outside of salaries of owners and officers, show a slight comparative falling off from 1900 to 1905, but a slight increase in 1905 over 1890.

9. Miscellaneous expenses show a very heavy increase as compared with net values produced. This probably helps to explain decreasing returns.

10. The average establishment has increased in size. It is the age of consolidation—and inefficiency. Capital employed is greater per establishment, greater per wage-earner, greater per \$1,000 net value produced.

11. Annual remuneration of the manufacturing wage-earner (\$430, real wages) is scarcely enough for bare necessities of life for a family of three in any American manufacturing city. Yet these men are much better paid than agricultural laborers.

12. Average salaries of clerks, superintendents, etc., (about \$1,000 a year) is but a most modest support for an urban family. When we consider how many great salaries are included in this average, it is certain that the mere clerk is little better off than the wage-earner.

13. The entire net value produced by the average wage-earner in the manufacturing field is but a beggarly \$929 at the inflated prices of 1904 and but \$815 at the prices of 1899. Take out of that wages of superintendence, rent, interest, profits, depreciation, reserve and all the other charges, and see how much is really left for the wage-earner. But the manufacturing wage-earner produces two or three times as much in a year as the average farm laborer. Verily, where is our boasted great wealth? How ill can we afford the profits of our millionaires? Twenty-five thousand men cannot produce a million a year above their own bare necessities.

To summarize still more concisely:

All manufacturing industries show decreased efficiency.

- (a) Less value produced per worker.
- (b) The use of greater capital per worker.
- (c) More expensive superintendence; less efficient superintendence.
- (d) Less net value produced per \$1,000 capital employed.
- (e) Higher miscellaneous expenses.

There is an unmistakable retrograde movement. It is accompanied by the greatest consolidation era in our history. The most vital argument for consolidation is increased economy and increased efficiency. Is consolidation along the lines it is now being conducted rather the cause of increased extravagance and inefficiency? Is our theorizing about greater economies in large establishments to be all upset by the cold logic of facts? This brings us to the important question: Why the deterioration?

That is a most important but a most difficult question to answer with confidence. Let us consider and try to find an explanation.

In this day of machinery we overlook the indirectness of our processes. Food and shelter (including clothing and habitations) are still the chief material wants



of mankind. In more primitive industry, food was consumed upon the farms where it was raised or in the neighboring villages. Clothing was manufactured where the fiber was produced. Dwellings were built from materials at hand. Labor was applied directly to the object in view. Every stroke counted, for it was aimed directly at the ultimate end. Tools and machinery used were simple and inexpensive, as well as lasting. Little was paid for superintendence. Transportation charges were not important. Nearly everybody labored productively. There were no middlemen, few profits. Rent and interest charges were small.

Our modern methods of production are absurdly indirect. Much food goes from the farm to the manufacturer before it comes back for consumption on the farm. In its progress it pays several profits besides rent, interest and transportation charges. Besides there is much waste and deterioration.

In the matter of clothing and dwellings, the processes are still more indirect. We talk glibly about the number of persons one knitter can supply with hosiery under our modern system. We lose sight of the machine makers, the money-lenders, the bankers, the miners, the railroad men who participate in that process. The knitter can do much with his machine after it is set in place and the power attached, but it requires endless processes to get to that point.

We see the worker and his knitting machine. But we overlook the man digging the ore from the ground, the men transporting it to the reducing furnaces, the cars carrying it and the processes of their production, the rails upon which they run, the furnaces which produce the ore and the intricacies of their production, the manufacturers of ingots and all their elaborate, expensive and perishable machinery, the makers of the parts of the spinning and knitting machines, as well as the carders and cotton gins, the builders of dams, the manufacturers of electric machinery or of steam engines, the miners,

shippers and handlers of coal, the planters of cotton, the transporting railroads, the makers of packing cases and paper wrappers, the hewers of timber for the cases and the pulp, the shipping of the finished product, the army of commercial travellers, clerks and salesmen, and above all, the profit takers, the rent and interest men, standing at every lane and alley and levying toll. So that what the inventor has saved the capitalist absorbs. The processes which produce a piece of hosiery in the hands of the consumer are almost infinite in their ramifications and every one under our present cumbersome system of industry is strictly necessary. Is it so wonderful then that when we come to reckon everything, including the depreciation of all this delicate and elaborate machinery the advantage of our processes over the more primitive but direct processes are not so striking in real results?

On every hand we hear the unprecedented railway tonnage heralded as evidence of our great industrial progress, as though our final end in life was to move great masses of material great distances. The whole mass of freight charges represents friction in our industrial system, a charge upon our industrial energy, a mighty obstacle to be overcome in making products available for consumption. It is really a most onerous part of the manufacturing process, and if we could dispense with it we would be just that much ahead. The greater the proportion of the articles which must be moved, the more burdensome the process. It is a tremendous waste, to be obliged to cart building material from Puget Sound to the banks of the Delaware when a little care and foresight would give an ample supply right at hand. Our dwellings are built quite as laboriously as our clothing is spun.

Railways, machines, telegraphs, telephones, banks, even governmental systems are merely devices for overcoming the friction incident to our social and industrial organization—or largely devices

## 516 *Have We Passed the Zenith of Our Industrial Efficiency?*

used for this purpose. Now in our manufacturing industries we seem to have reached a point where the friction is out-running our inventive genius. One might produce a very ingenious machine so elaborate that the maximum energy which might be applied to it would be entirely absorbed by friction.

Waste is another item we are prone to lose sight of. It becomes more serious as our machinery and organization become more complex and expensive and as our methods require more frequent discarding of old devices and organizations.

Individual responsibility is at a minimum in the big organization directed toward private gain. Systems of checks to prevent "graft" prove a heavy drain upon the energy of the superintending and working forces. So far as the public has had glimpses behind the scenes, great corporations are conducted most wastefully. The denial of chances for betterment except as exploiters, the smothering of individual initiative and consequently individual interest, by organization and discipline, must tend to lower individual efficiency. Possibly educational defects contribute to the same end.

A comparison of factories proper as to efficiency in relation to size does not give a satisfactory result. The very smallest and the very largest seem the most efficient. The bigger the medium grade of factory, the less efficient it is. There are reasons for believing that the very small factory is efficient because it represents the work of its highly skilled and interested owner in connection, probably, with one or two apprentices. As for the very large factory (that with annual product of more than a million dollars), the fact that liquor manufacture shows approximately twice the production of value of any other industry, would indicate that monopolistic manipulation of prices has more to do with value of product (comparative) than any efficiency of operation.

Stock-watering has held high carnival

for a number of years in the big manufacturing corporation. Witness the increased capitalization of the Carnegie industries from twenty-five millions to about six hundred millions in passing from the Carnegie Limited to the United States Steel Corporation. That means unearned profits of enormous proportion, great fixed charges upon industry, decreased net values. Real estate has advanced by leaps and bounds, including the mines and the forests. Here again is an enormous unearned charge paid by industries in buying raw material and meeting miscellaneous expenses. Result, decreased net values.

Enormous salaries are the rule for high officers of big corporations. Talent thus furnished, as we judge by following press notices of distinguished travelers, seems to be expended mainly in viewing foreign scenery and works of art or dallying with the foreign tiger. Wall street is the stamping ground for these high-salaried men while "at home." They spend their time, not in directing manufacturing operations, but in this financial center looking after speculative interests, mostly personal. Actual manufacturing or transportation business does not get the services of the executive talent it pays for so highly. That talent becomes predatory, exploiting. Therefore, impaired efficiency.

As our industrial organization becomes more elaborate, we add enormously to the professional classes engaged largely in the smoothing out of the friction incident to our system of organization. Watch the multiplication of lawyers, bankers, brokers, money-lenders, insurance men of various sorts. Mere idlers multiply. Topping all are the profit takers who have become legion. Their gates are thick on every industrial highway. Their tolls are called profits, rent, interest, fees, salaries, etc. Again, I ask, is it so wonderful that the net values produced by our mud-sills carrying this pyramid on their shoulders, are not as imposing as we might expect?

To sum up: Our efficiency is impaired:

1. By the enormous profits which we pay.

(a) On each of the many processes necessary to create the finished article.

(b) In interest on increased capitalization.

(c) In rents.

(d) In transportation.

(e) In marketing or distribution.

2. By the indirectness of our processes.

3. Transportation charges made necessary in the exploiting of railways and the building up of terminals at the expense of the country at large.

4. Growing depreciation of an increasingly complex and expensive plant.

5. Waste due to spoiling of products and discarding out-grown machinery and processes.

6. Sham capitalization.

7. Diversion of the most highly paid executive talent to speculative activities for personal gain.

9. Unearned salaries.

10. Impairment of individual responsibility. Multiplication of red tape in great business organizations.

11. Stifling of individual initiative and ambition.

12. Multiplying of non-productive workers and mere idlers.

Whether the causes be few or many, impaired efficiency within the past five years is an indisputable fact. The age of consolidation has become the age of inefficiency. With our pitifully small production per worker, impaired efficiency is a most serious thing. If our complex organization has been too cumbersome for further efficient service, let us simplify it. If we have reached a barrier in our industrial progress, let us remove it. If we are failing because too many get something for nothing, let us see that they cease to get these gratuities. If idleness and non-productive labor are responsible, let us see that idlers go to work and unproductive workers do some-

thing useful. We cannot make a decent living for the multitude unless everybody lends a helping hand.

Is consolidation an evil? Has organization gone too far? I think not. The trouble is not with the principle of organization, but the kind of organization. Without doubt we have gone too far in the direction of organization whose purpose is exploiting large masses of workers for the benefit of individuals or small groups of individuals. If organization is to be beneficial, it must have for its object the benefiting of the whole people. It must be directed to eliminating profits, not increasing them. It must give the whole people the benefit of rent and interest charges. Workers must be made to know that they are working for themselves, not their exploiters. They cannot be made the playthings of unreciprocating manipulators. The few cannot wallow in unearned wealth without destroying the efficiency of the many. If we are to maintain a strong, efficient, democratic state, we must develop it along the lines of the coöperative commonwealth rather than give our industrial and political organization over to the irresponsible industrial autocracy which we have so blithely built up.

For those of my readers who wish to verify the facts which I present, I append a table and a word of explanation. The table is compiled from Bulletin 57, Department of Commerce and Labor, Tables Nos. 1 and 2. These figures are not exact. They show the tendency, not the exact extent of the tendency. Computations are but approximate. There may be slight errors, but none to invalidate conclusions.

Figures in the census reports are neither complete nor exact. They are not supposed to be. "Value of Products," as used in the census reports and quoted extensively, is largely fictitious, being something like five thousand million dollars too large. This statement may be verified by reference to "Statistics of Manufactures" in the Census for 1900,

# 518 *Have We Passed the Zenith of our Industrial Efficiency?*

## FIGURES BEARING UPON MANUFACTURING EFFICIENCY IN 1905, INDUSTRIES IN THIS TABLE

### *Average annual net value produced per wage-earner.*

	Factories and Mechanical Industries.		Factories only.		"Shops."	
1890 .....	\$839	*\$797	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	872	*872	\$834	*\$834	\$1,174	*\$1,174
1905 .....	929	*815	889	*780	1,282	*1,126

### *Average annual net value produced, deduct depreciation (per wage-earner).*

1890 .....	\$765	*\$727	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	780	*780	\$737	*\$737	\$1,107	*\$1,107
1905 .....	815	*716	769	*675	1,196	*1,050

### *Average annual net value produced per wage-earner, deduct depreciation and capital reserve.*

1890 .....	\$675	*\$641	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	697	*697	\$674	*\$674	.....	.....
1905 .....	684	*614	670	*588	\$1,094	*\$961

### *Average annual net value produced per salaried man.*

1900 .....	\$11,690	*\$11,690	\$10,819	*\$10,819	\$21,000	*\$21,000
1905 .....	10,102	*8,870	9,313	*8,177	18,642	*17,378

### *Average annual net value produced per establishment.*

1890 .....	\$10,089	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	9,045	.....	\$18,990	.....	\$2,273	.....
1905 .....	10,709	.....	22,421	.....	2,403	.....

### *Percentage net value produced paid wage-earners.*

1890 .....	53 per cent.	.....	.....
1900 .....	50.5 per cent.	51.2 per cent.	44 per cent.
1905 .....	52.4 per cent.	53.9 per cent.	53 per cent.

### *Percentage of net value produced paid salaried men.*

1890 .....	†11 per cent.	.....	.....
1900 .....	8.8 per cent.	9 per cent.	3.2 per cent.
1905 .....	12 per cent.	11.9 per cent.	4.6 per cent.

### *Percentage of whole service fund paid salaried men.*

1890 .....	†17.2 per cent.	.....	.....
1900 .....	14.8 per cent.	16 per cent.	.....
1905 .....	16.8 per cent.	18 per cent.	8 per cent.

### *Percentage of whole service fund paid in wages.*

1890 .....	†82.8 per cent.	.....	.....
1900 .....	85 per cent.	84 per cent.	.....
1905 .....	83.2 per cent.	82 per cent.	92 per cent.

### *Percentage salaried men to whole number of workers.*

1890 .....	†9.7 per cent.	.....	.....
1900 .....	6.8 per cent.	7.1 per cent.	5.1 per cent.
1905 .....	8.4 per cent.	8.7 per cent.	6.3 per cent.

### *Percentage net value produced, paid capital.*

1890 .....	36.2 per cent.	.....	.....
1900 .....	41.1 per cent.	40.1 per cent.	‡51.8 per cent.
1905 .....	36.6 per cent.	36.6 per cent.	‡51.1 per cent.

\* Corrected to a uniform price (by Dun's index numbers).

† Includes salaries of officers and owners.

‡ Including salaries of owners.

# Have We Passed the Zenith of Our Industrial Efficiency? 519

1900 AND 1890. ALSO EFFICIENCY IN NEIGHBORHOOD AND HAND DESIGNATED AS "SHOPS."

## Percentage miscellaneous expenses to net value produced.

	Factories and Mechanical Industries.	Factories only.	"Shops."
1890 .....	18 per cent.	.....	.....
1900 .....	22.2 per cent.	25.6 per cent.	20.2 per cent.
1905 .....	27.1 per cent.	30 per cent.	22.5 per cent.

## Average annual wages per worker full time.

1890 .....	\$445	*\$423	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	438	*438	\$427	*\$427	\$329
1905 .....	480	*430	478	*420	591

## Average annual salary per salaried man.

1890 .....	\$850	*\$808	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	1,016	*1,016	\$1,041	*\$1,041	\$700
1905 .....	1,076	*945	1,105	*960	748

## Average capital per worker.

1890 .....	\$1,388	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	1,722	.....	\$1,849	.....	\$1,355
1905 .....	2,070	.....	2,255	.....	1,500

## Capital per establishment.

1890 .....	\$18,380	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	19,174	.....	\$44,000	.....	\$2,750
1905 .....	25,978	.....	58,790	.....	3,700

## Capital employed per wage-earner.

1890 .....	\$1,512	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	1,852	.....	\$1,906	.....	\$1,414
1905 .....	2,237	.....	2,319	.....	1,750

## Capital employed per salaried man.

1890 .....	\$14,130	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	24,732	.....	\$24,670	.....	\$26,000
1905 .....	24,509	.....	24,398	.....	25,780

## Average number of men employed per \$25,000 capital.

1890 .....	16.25 per cent.	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	13.05 per cent.	.....	13.5 per cent.	.....	.....
1905 .....	12.4 per cent.	.....	9.6 per cent.	.....	14.5 per cent.

## Gross product per salaried worker.

1890 .....	\$35,526	.....	\$31,698	*\$31,698	.....
1900 .....	32,755	*\$32,755	.....	.....	\$49,000
1905 .....	29,810	*26,174	28,460	*24,908	44,497

## Gross product per wage-earner.

1900 .....	\$2,454	*\$2,454	\$2,430	*\$2,430	\$2,715
1905 .....	2,720	*2,388	2,706	*2,380	3,026

## Gross product per establishment.

1890 .....	\$26,401	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900 .....	25,399	*\$25,399	\$54,861	*\$54,861	\$5,190
1905 .....	31,211	*27,403	68,528	*60,178	6,600

\* Corrected to a uniform price (by Dun's index numbers).



pages CXXXIX. to CXLII. I have, therefore, used "Net Values Produced" in my table so as to avoid ambiguity because of the unfortunate use of "value of products" in the census tables.

In reaching the figures for net values produced, I subtracted from the census figures for "value of products" the "cost of raw materials" plus "miscellaneous expenses." This eliminates duplications and leaves the "net values produced" by the employes of the manufacturing establishments considered.

Average numbers of wage earners and salaried employes were used as divisors in reaching average annual net product per "wage earner" and per "salaried man," respectively. Also in reaching average wages, the dividend in that case being the aggregate wages paid. While the results are not necessarily the wages received or the "net values produced" by any average individual, for a thousand different men might have worked in the course of a year in an establishment

with an average force of but 200, it does give a correct estimate of the "net value produced" by the average individual working full time, and is correct and sufficiently exact for our purposes.

Items have been included setting forth "net values produced" after deducting five per cent of the capital on account of depreciation. Also after an additional amount has been deducted for capital reserve. This "capital reserve" is the additional capital actually added from year to year in enlarging old enterprises and adding new.

Price corrections are founded upon Dun's index numbers for 1889, 1899 and 1904, the years actually covered by the census figures involved.

In the tables the small establishments, including neighborhood and hand industries, are called "shops" to distinguish them from factories proper.

J. W. BENNETT.

*Minneapolis, Minn.*

## WHY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH OPPOSES SOCIALISM.

BY A LEADING SOCIALIST.

**T**HE PERSISTENT attacks being made upon Socialism by Catholic prelates and societies justifies the question: Why does the Catholic Church oppose Socialism so uncompromisingly and bitterly?

Two reasons immediately present themselves to the Socialist mind, at least: First, as one of the richest religious institutions in the world, the material interests of the Catholic Church naturally place it on the side of the propertied classes. Second, wherever the question of the separation of the Church and State arises, Socialists stand for the freedom of the

State from religious responsibility and inspiration.

These reasons would seem to be sufficient, and they undoubtedly are, if there were no other. But there is another reason, not so apparent, and yet, in my opinion, as vital and worthy of attention. Of course, I do not here consider the basic motive of the Church to advance its theological principles, to increase its power as a spiritual director and adviser, to dominate the minds and subjugate to its control the spiritual and temporal affairs of people everywhere—a motive which characterizes all religious sects

and institutions to a greater or lesser extent.

In the logical course of events Socialists anticipate the combined antagonism of those institutions which materially thrive through Capitalism; and the Catholic Church, perhaps more than any other, thrives upon the conditions which make for poverty and ignorance. Apart from its subsistence upon the contributions of its faithful members, it is, through its enormous holdings and investments, an instrument of exploitation of the working class; and it resents, like any other corporation, any proposed interference with that exploitation.

So, from this standpoint, there need be no extended comment; nor does the second reason above stated require different treatment. Socialists consider religion as a private matter, as one for the individual to settle with his own reason and conscience; and he holds that the institutions which deal with such a purely private concern have no right to expect recognition or support from a government representing a people differing in their religious views and opinions.

Socialists are opposed to the state ownership in brains and governmental supervision of conscience which the affiliation of Church and State has always implied and produced. And it is because clericalism in Italy, France, Spain and other European countries has been a curse to individual freedom and a dead weight upon intellectual progress and spiritual development, that Socialists unite with anti-clerical elements in the legislatures to release the various governments from the baneful influence of the Black International. For the same reason, the Socialist and Labor members of the House of Commons voted for the new Education Bill which marks a great step forward in the long fight for secular education in Great Britain.

"But," the reader says, "the conditions prevailing in Europe do not exist here. There is no such thing as Church

and State, or Clericalism, or the Black International, in the United States." This is true, but only partially so.

The Catholic Church adapts its policy to the social and political conditions dominating in each country. Because Church and State are separated in the United States, because we have here secular education or a semblance of it, because other denominations have here a more general membership and influence than they have in European countries—because of these things the Catholic Church is compelled to resort to less open and more subtle methods to maintain and extend its power and influence. It is here that Jesuitism is called into fuller play, because there is more occasion for it.

Thus it is that we find the Catholic Church the most rigid upholder of conventional, bourgeois law and order, the most uncompromising defender of social traditions, and the most adept truckler to the dominating political factions and opinions. If Archbishop Ireland is a Republican in Minnesota, and Cardinal Gibbons is a Democrat in Maryland, they are so because these are the dominant political parties, and each prelate is able to exercise for the Church a valuable influence with the Republican or Democratic administration, as the case may be.

The Catholic Church has a problem to handle in the United States almost entirely different from that confronting it in the European countries. Here we have a heterogeneous population, far advanced in the rudimentary elements of education, a public school system practically free of religious influence and an industrial life which tends to eradicate race and religious differences and to develop among the working class especially a new type of the reasoning, discerning, thinking man. In a European country, on the other hand, there is usually but one race to deal with, encumbered by the inherited prejudices and customs of cen-

turies, with brains cast in the same mold, bearing the heritage of pre-natal superstitions, and with imaginations conforming to primitive conditions and limited geographical boundaries. Here there is a fusion of races, an interchange of ideas and opinions, and a release of the imaginative faculties through travel and association. We dream, not as the local priest would have us, but as our own awakened, quickening impulse fires us.

Since the membership and financial support of the Catholic Church are drawn from the working class, it is of primary interest to the Church, if it is to survive in America, to retain its influence upon this class. This is particularly the case with the Irish race, which constitutes a large part of the American proletariat; and as I am come of Irish stock myself, born into the Catholic Church and tutored by it, I may claim competence to speak upon this phase of the question.

The Irish people in America are the backbone of the Church. Other nationalities are well represented, and while in a general way my remarks fit them as well as the Irish, yet they apply more pointedly to the latter. The strength of the Church among the Irish people in America centers in those who came as immigrants years ago, or in their immediate descendants, and who retain all the beliefs and prejudices imbibed in their native land or delivered to them at first hand by their ancestors.

But with the rising of a new generation, living under different social conditions, thrown into social intercourse with members of other races whom their ancestors have always despised as enemies or superiors (the English and Italians, for instance), forced to work for a living in close association with the descendants of these races, educated mostly in the public school, burdened with civic duties and responsibilities unknown to their progenitors, the old beliefs, superstitions and prejudices are losing their significance and power of satisfaction and appeal, and are

being uprooted to give way to new ideals and ambitions. The mental horizon is becoming broadened, the social instinct stronger, and deeper grows the sense of oneness with their fellows.

The Irish race possesses qualities which have made it in the past the invaluable ally of any cause it has espoused. It has energy, devotion, combativeness, enthusiasm, imagination, and great executive, administrative and organizing ability. It has the genius of politics, the gift of oratory, the daring of command and the capacity for self-sacrifice. It has furnished the modern world with some of its most romantic figures in literature, oratory, statesmanship and war. If the energies of this race have found vent and reached higher attainment in other countries than its own it is because the brutal force of a tyrannical government has overwhelmed it and cast adrift the noblest and bravest of its sons. That Ireland is not free is due largely to the fact that the Catholic Church has exacted from the Irish race blind allegiance and unquestioning faith, and has diverted to the use of the Church the ability which the cause of freedom should have had.

The Catholic Church has had in Ireland and up to within a few years ago, in this country, a practical monopoly of the energies of the Irish people. The Church has fed upon the deep-rooted faith and whole-souled devotion of this people. It has carefully selected from its faithful adherents the fittest to do the work of the Church, to spread its gospel, to extend the vast machinery of its government, to maintain its grip upon the affection of its parishioners and win over new converts to its cause. No Irish family but at some time has yielded its quota of brains to the service of the Church, and has done it gladly, for the Church has placed this service as the holiest ambition of a Catholic family. And the Church has been able to replenish its treasures from the pennies of the Irish people, as it has been

able to replenish its government from the choicest of its flock.

But with the passing of the older generation of the Irish people, and the change in habitation in primitive communities, where ignorance and superstition flourish and the priesthood intellectually dominates, to the larger social spheres—with the coming of the new generation developing under modern social conditions, with the concomitants of education and independent thinking, there is also coming a change in the relation of the Irish people to the Catholic Church. The monopoly of the Church is being broken. The priesthood no longer has first choice of the brainiest son, or the cloister the pick of the favorite daughter. There are other claimants for their hands, new fields of usefulness and wider opportunities opening up, and there is a higher social duty to perform than ever the Church offered.

By very force of circumstances the Irish are a working-class people. As workers they are taking part in the labor movement, and to an extent not equaled by any other race. And this not alone through material circumstances, but because the same qualities which have made them predominant in other causes are finding full scope in the labor movement, which appeals to the temperament of the Irish because it offers them a cause for which they can work and immolate themselves with the same enthusiasm and whole-hearted vigor which they have immemorably devoted to less worthy causes and less tangible ideals.

There is not a labor organization in America (except those organizations confined largely to one nationality, as in the clothing trades), but the number of officials of Irish descent is proportionately greater than that of those descended from other races. The roster of any labor convention, all other things being equal, exhibits the activity and natural ability of the Irish members through their large share in its composition. The leading and best-known labor officials in this

country, with few exceptions, are of the Irish race.

Years ago, when Labor Unionism was in its infancy, the Catholic clergy were openly antagonistic to it until, since they came to realize that they were fighting the inevitable, they keep discreetly silent, when they do not openly support the workers' cause. The Church exacts absolute devotion from its followers, and any organization or movement which threatens to weaken or divert that devotion sooner or later falls under the ban. The attempt to keep the workers from the unions failed because the workers were learning that the unions were essential to their material welfare and that the Sunday morning sermon presented no solution to falling wages or unendurable conditions. The Church was silenced because it found silence wiser than warfare. It could not successfully combat a social fact. It compromised to hold what it had rather than lose ground.

The labor movement through its utilization of the energies of the Irish working class, has deprived the Church of much that it has always had without question. How grudgingly the Church has yielded to this loss only those who have experienced the result of its displeasure can begin to appreciate. And now comes the Socialist movement, and, apart from other considerations, threatens to take still more. For with the rapidly growing understanding of the real industrial situation, the intellectual development of the whole working class, and the manifest inadequacy of the unions to resist the employing class, the Catholic workingmen, despite the adjurations of priests, the orders of bishops and the decrees of popes, are turning to Socialism and becoming increasingly active for the Socialist cause.

None know this better than the priesthood itself, that priesthood which has its ramifications wherever the Irish people are. And though the priests work hard to offset the progress of Socialistic thought



among their followers, yet industrial conditions are too much for them. They are succeeding only in shattering the last vestige of faith in the Church in the breast of the young convert, for he invariably cherishes the hope that the priest will see as he sees until the hope is dispelled and a choice between the new religion and that of his fathers has to be made.

The Church, in its opposition to Socialism, is grappling with social forces, and forces stronger than itself. The Church loses its hold upon its adherents because it cannot offer to the new generation anything but an ideal which does not fit in with the crying necessities, the struggling aspirations, the larger imagination of the working people. The old paraphernalia of worship is losing its effectiveness. Rather does the gorgeousness of Church ceremonies and parades inspire doubt and add to discontent than awaken awe and reverence.

The Irish temperament requires an ideal, an ideal which warms the blood and fires the imagination—an ideal which it can die for, if need be, as well as work for. Socialism comes to the Irish race with such an ideal, and an ideal which is all the more appealing because it brings relief from oppressive social conditions while giving an inspiration which comes from working with and for your fellows for a lofty purpose.

All other reasons aside, this then is one reason why the Catholic Church fights the Socialist movement. And it is a good reason. For Socialism is the only movement in the world which can take from the Catholic Church that which has sustained it for centuries. Socialism will drain the Catholic Church of its life-giving force and turn that force to regenerating the world instead of using it to keep the world enslaved by perpetuating ignorance, submission and superstition.

## SOME SUGGESTIONS AND A PROTEST: A CRITICISM OF JUDGE CLARK'S PAPER.

BY FRANK D. BLUE.

**T**HE PAPER in the February ARENA, by the Hon. Walter Clark, suggesting some changes in the Constitution of the United States, was, upon the whole, quite excellent, but I believe the honorable gentleman fails to fully grasp the situation.

While the election of senators and judges, the pro rata elective vote and the expiration of the term of one congress upon the election of another, are wise and needed reforms, the almost impassible obstacles to either a change in the present constitution or the making of an entire new one, make it necessary to seek a more feasible line of change.

Mr. Clark would take away from our

supreme courts the right of passing upon the constitutionality of laws. Now that very feature has always struck me as being almost the only redeeming feature of our various supreme courts.

Our government was made up of what was supposed to be a complete system of checks and balances, and a goodly part of the functions of supreme courts is to save people, not only from the folly of their representatives expressed legislatively, but against their own foolish and unconsidered acts.

It was originally supposed that by the time a law got through two deliberative bodies and was passed upon by the chief executive, it would be a safe and sane



law, but it was discovered almost at the beginning of the nation that greater safety was needed and the supreme courts promptly attempted to supply this want, if not by law, then by common consent, which is always superior to statute law.

Our people are fast learning that unbridled legislation is an unbearable evil, and they realize that the supreme courts, even with the wide scope of power they use, cannot be depended upon to protect them, so they are setting limits both upon the number of sessions and upon the length of time sessions may sit, but these expedients, too, have failed to bring the necessary relief.

To adopt the European plan of making legislatures infallible, would be like stepping out of the frying-pan into the fire. All bodies of men, in combination, level down instead of leveling up, which explains why so many imbecile laws get upon our statute books.

So long as we deal with imperfect humanity, there will be errors made, and our courts will once in a while be swayed by considerations other than that of justice, as was the United States su-

preme court in the Income Tax and the John Turner cases, and as Mr. Clark's own court was, when he told the people of North Carolina he cared nothing about the injustice of the law under consideration, if they didn't like it they should make the legislature repeal it.

We have all sorts of panaceas offered for our social ills, practically all of them paternalistic or socialistic in character, leaving the individual out of consideration entirely, and I believe it is time he should be considered.

Our jury system has been warped and hampered and thwarted in so many ways, until no one these days seems to know it was originally instituted to abrogate evils of the very sort we now complain of. A return to the original jury system, modified, of course, to suit our new conditions, will bring about a reformation that would be a revelation to our people.

I hope at some future day to be able to point out specifically how, I believe, these changes can be best brought about.

FRANK D. BLUE.

*Kokomo, Ind.*

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## SOME COUNTS IN THE PEOPLE'S BILL OF GRIEVANCE AGAINST THE CORPORATIONS.

### Wholesale Tax Evasions on The Part of Public-Service Corporations.

**I**N THE case of the people against the corporations, one of the leading counts in the popular bill of grievances is the persistent, determined and flagrant evasion of taxes, which saddles on the people onerous burdens that are in effect an excess of just taxation. In the desperate battle waged for years between the people, led by Senator LaFollette, on the one hand, and the railways and other public-service corporations, led by Senator Spooner and Congressman Babcock, on the other, this was one of the things which Senator LaFollette, representing the people, sought to redress by compelling the enforcement of equal and just taxation, and in the conflict he had to meet the united and formidable opposition of the political machines and their masters, the corporations. The winning of this battle for the people by the incorruptible and brilliant young statesman of Wisconsin has heartened the people throughout the nation and led to a new and aggressive campaign for the enforcement of laws against the most lawless element of society—the criminal rich who operate the public-service corporations.

If a citizen refuses or neglects to pay the taxes levied, his property is sold. He may be in straitened circumstances, but the law takes no cognizance of his misfortune. Any neglect on his part is followed by the sale of his property. If a corporation, however, neglects to pay the taxes levied against it, in many instances, under the present rule of political machines supported and directed by corporate wealth, the matter is ignored by the men supposed to represent the people and who are sworn to administer the laws impartially.

Now from the standpoint of equity, there is no class of tax-payers against whom the laws should be as rigidly enforced in the collection of taxes to pay for the operation of government as against the public-service corporations; for it is only through the favor or the bounty of the public, through its servants that these financial bodies are able to acquire vast fortunes, a large proportion of which are

the direct result of the inestimably valuable franchises given by the public servants to the favored individuals that compose the corporations. Yet in America to-day we are confronted by the amazing fact that owing to corrupt practices long indulged in by corporate wealth, and the strangle-hold which these privileged interests have on the political machine and politicians, the corporations are constantly defying the law and evading taxation. When caught red-handed, and no other loophole is found for them to creep out of, they fight for delays, if there happen to be officials in positions of power who cannot be bribed or frightened into silence.

Recently an impressive though unfortunately typical example of this nature came to light in New York City. There, owing to the neglect of the Republican state officials and the Democratic city authorities, the great corporations have systematically and with perfect impunity evaded paying the taxes levied against them. Some time ago the *New York American*, believing that at last the Empire State had an attorney-general who would enforce the statutes against the law-defying corporations as readily as against the individual citizens, employed an expert accountant to go over the comptroller's books. The revelations which followed were startling—almost incredible. According to the returns, there were over thirty-three million dollars which the corporations of New York City owed for taxes, interest on the same and for real estate taxes, percentage taxes, car-fare licenses, etc. Of this sum more than eighteen million dollars was for franchise taxes alone, exclusive of interest on same. The Interborough Metropolitan System—the Ryan-Belmont aggregation—is the great criminal in this case, as it is the most sinister influence in all New York political matters. After the *American's* exposures, this corporation promptly paid three million dollars of the sum over to the authorities, but refused to pay the rest unless they could affect a compromise that would enable them to slip out of paying a large share of the amount due. At

Attorney-General Jackson refused to see how an over-rich and persistently law-defying corporation should be shown favors which would not be accorded to the honest tax-payer, and refused the proposed compromise.

Later, the State Board of Tax Commissioners made a report showing that in the city of New York for franchise taxes alone the corporations now owed \$18,476,585.54. This does not include interest on the above or \$7,858,510.95 owed for other than the franchise taxes and interest.

The Board makes some sensible recommendations which, were we living under a republican government instead of under a plutocracy masquerading under a republican form, would have been accepted and acted upon as a matter of course by the proper officials from the first. The Tax Commission insists that the tax-evading corporations be deprived of their franchises and that their property be sold in the event of continued delinquency. It furthermore urges that in the future the corporations be treated exactly the same as an individual citizen and required to pay taxes when due as a condition precedent to right of court review. This is precisely the stand taken by Attorney-General Jackson and is the only justifiable position that honest officials could maintain. The assumption that favors should be shown immensely rich corporations which are refused to the individual citizen is so absurd on its face as to call for no argument.

In commenting on the report of the State Board of Tax Commissioners, the editor of the *New York American* observes that:

"If equality before the law signifies anything at all, it means that the same rule of procedure shall be applied to the trust as to the average business man. That payment of taxes when due is a condition precedent to the right of review is a well-established principle in law. It applies to all real-estate taxes, and franchises come under the same head.

The legal technicality behind which the tax-dodging corporations have sought to shield themselves is that their assessments have not been equalized on the same basis as those of the local real-estate assessments. Even granting this, the State Board insists that they still owe \$16,000,000, and this on franchises alone and exclusive of interest. To prevent further evasion of this sort the Commissioners ask that they be allowed to inquire as to the rate

of real-estate assessments in the local districts, and to fix the franchise assessments accordingly. This would prevent any future Attorney-General like Julius M. Mayer from appointing referees and so procuring delays for years. Delay is the long suit of the tax-dodger.

"All that is needed to compel the corporations to pay up like individuals is the enforcement of the law against them. A city administration not owned by the tax dodgers would never have permitted such a system of evasion to exist, which system defrauds the people and discredits New York."

This example of systematic shifting of the burden of taxation to the backs of the people, by the over-rich privileged few who control the immensely rich public-service corporations, though an extremely flagrant example, is by no means an isolated instance of this specious form of dishonesty. The great railway and other public-service companies are constantly either preventing just taxes from being levied, or are evading their payment when the law prescribes that they be justly taxed; and to add to the growing exasperation of the people against having to bear this added burden because of immunity being granted to the privileged few, we have the scandal constantly pointed out of the very rich individuals swearing off their taxes and paying only a moiety in proportion to what they possess, of what the farmer, the artisan, and the man in moderate circumstances is compelled to pay.

Here, then is one reason for the rising discontent against the rule of privileged interests through political machines—one count in the popular indictment against the domination of corporate wealth.

### The Modern Tax-Farmer.

Tax evasion is but one of the lawless and iniquitous practices of the criminal rich which is operating in such a way as terribly to increase the unjust burdens borne by the millions of wealth creators and consumers. A concrete illustration of how the modern tax-farmer arbitrarily plunders the people was brought out in an impressive manner during the recent investigation of Mr. Harriman's practices in the hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission in the case of the Chicago & Alton Railroad. It was shown by the sworn testimony that Mr. Harriman bought the Chicago & Alton for forty mil-

lion dollars, and after burdening it with a mortgage of twenty-two million dollars which he and his associates divided among themselves, he sold it to the Union Pacific for eighty-nine million dollars.

The revelations brought out, though so thoroughly familiar to the Wall-street gambling world that no special attention was paid to them, were of so shameful and discreditable a nature that when made public even the most conservative journals and upholders of the theory of private ownership of public utilities were forced in numbers of instances to severely criticize the action of Harriman and his associates, though all of them are typical characters in the world of high finance who are controlling the natural monopolies of America to-day and who, through the vast wealth that they are able to farm from the people, have for a quarter of a century been steadily debauching the foundations of government in city, state and nation. Thus, we find that even so sturdy a champion of the private ownership of railways and other public utilities as the *Boston Herald*, in its issue of March 2d, in a leading editorial, when referring to the action of these high financiers who were being investigated, said:

"Whenever they, and particularly Mr. Harriman, were forced to meet questions, there was disclosed a system of fraud and deceit in the conduct of these men as far removed from honest stewardship of their trust as light is from darkness. . . . If Harriman, Rogers, Rockefeller, Gould, Stillman are professors of 'high finance,' they are practitioners of low morality. They were trustees of other people's money. They used it skilfully and built up a great railroad corporation. Then to themselves as trustees—call them directors, if you choose, it is the same thing—they sold at enormously inflated prices securities that belonged to themselves as individuals. They paid themselves with the money of those who had chosen them as trustees. And they did it with all possible secrecy. They constantly used their inside information to their own personal profit. They falsified accounts and put out a deceptive report of their railroad's condition and the stocks in other roads which it owned.

"In the mind of every honest man and woman the conduct of these 'magnates' is no different morally from that of a crook who

robs a house. And they are the men who cry out against government supervision of railroads and accuse the President of 'corporation-baiting.'"

So general and sweeping were the denunciations of the press after the facts, which had long been known to the Wall-street financiers, had been made public property, that the Harriman syndicate felt it absolutely necessary for them to issue a defense, and on the 14th of March there appeared a pamphlet entitled "Official Statement Respecting the Recapitalization of the Chicago & Alton Railroad Company." The pamphlet declared that it was authorized by the syndicate that acquired the property in 1899. The pamphlet is, as the *New York World* characterized it, "a defense of the high-finance jugglery to which E. H. Harriman and Kuhn, Loeb & Co., submitted that property," and "the statement declares that 'The profits of the syndicate have been absurdly overestimated.' It then gives a peculiar array of figures which set the market value of the property before Harriman put it through its high-finance performance at \$54,396,617, and the value of the new securities, after the recapitalization, at \$105,090,000. It says that \$19,500,000 were spent for improvements, new equipment and reconstruction, and \$3,000,000 for the Springfield and Peoria line. This accounts for \$22,500,000 of the \$50,700,000 of new securities, but the statement says nothing whatever as to what became of the remaining \$28,200,000."

The above does not refer to another phase of this exhibition of modern high finance brought out at the investigation. We refer to the issue of 3 per cent. bonds which Mr. Harriman and his confederates issued to themselves at 65 and then unloaded on an insurance company which was controlled by high financiers at 95.

It is with the tax-farming phase of these transactions, however, that we are at present concerned. Here, according to the evidence, after Mr. Harriman had secured the Chicago & Alton, he had an enormous issue of bonds made, much less than half of which was spent in purchase of property or increase of the tangible assets of the road. The rest went into the pockets of the stockholders and financial jugglers. Here we find millions upon millions of bonds issued that did not represent any outlay to increase tangible assets



and which would have been as worthless as the paper they were printed on, but for the taxing power which is enjoyed by the public-service corporations, by which those in possession of natural monopolies are able to levy extortionate tariffs on the wealth-producers and consumers of the nation. The three, four, six or eight per cent. dividends that are paid on this wealth that was arbitrarily increased by the irresponsible tax-farmers are taken from the pockets of the toiling millions as arbitrarily and mercilessly as were the taxes extorted by the tax-farmers of ancient Rome.

The millions upon millions of "made dollars" that were merely issued to Mr. Harri-man and his stock-holding confederates were as valuable to the holders as if they represented actual outlay for improvement of property, because the railway magnates have the power to go into the pockets of the hard-working farmer, who with wife and family toils from twelve to fourteen hours a day in grinding labor for a meager return; into the pockets of the artisan, the manufacturing mechanic and the miner, whose wages are so small that their children have to slave in factory, mill and mine, instead of going to school and enjoying that freedom necessary to healthy development of the body, brain and soul of youth; and into the pockets of the doctor, the clergyman and the merchant, or, in a word, of the wealth-producing and consuming public, and arbitrarily take wealth that does not represent return on money invested and which by no stretch of the imagination can be said justly to belong to them.

One of the obvious reasons for the high prices which are to-day such a burden on the people is found in the high freights which the railroads have found it necessary to charge in order to pay dividends on this vast burden of bonds that have been arbitrarily created by the criminal rich, in order to further inflate their swollen fortunes and to enable them to further indulge their insatiable appetite for unearned wealth and their insane passion for gambling, and which are rendered possible only because of the taxing power possessed

by the railways and other public-service corporations.

In ancient Rome no class of people was so hated in all the provinces, and none did so much to weaken the sway of the one-time Mistress of the World, as the tax-farmers, who frequently through corrupt use of wealth were able to buy privileges to farm the people; and all students of history know how much the unjust farming of the poor agriculturists and wealth-creators of France and the evasion of taxes by the aristocracy, church and official classes had to do with rousing the popular rage that made the French revolution inevitable.

Our modern irresponsible public-service tax-farmer does not buy his privileges in quite so open and direct a manner as did his soul-mate of Rome during her decline, but the methods of these moral criminals of both periods are the same. To-day the railway and other public-service magnates, the banking chiefs and the master-spirits in the great trusts buy the privileges which they enjoy in farming the public, through liberal campaign contributions, courtesies and various forms of indirect bribery, when secret and direct bribery is not employed. In recent years, through their campaign contributions alone and the complete control of the political bosses, they have been enabled to so largely influence the nomination and appointment of officials in various branches of city, state and national government as to render it possible for them to farm the people at their pleasure.

The pitiful concessions that have resulted after all the exposures of the measureless corruption in the investigations of railways, insurance companies and the beef and oil trusts, only serve to render more startling the tremendous power exerted by the feudalism of privileged wealth in its effort to evade its fair share of taxes and its systematic employment of extortion in the farming of the wealth-creators and consumers.

Here, then, are two important counts in the long bill of popular grievances against the present feudalism of privileged wealth.



## THE LONDON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

## The False Claims of The Servants of The Public-Service Corporations Exposed.

TO THOSE knowing the facts, nothing recently has been more illuminating or characteristic of the tactics persistently pursued by the Morgan-Ryan-Belmont newspapers, the public-service corporation bureaus of misinformation and the magazines whose chief function seems to be the making of special pleas for the public-service corporations and the distorting of every fact relating to public ownership, than the persistent effort to mislead the American public in regard to the significance of the recent municipal election in London. These multitudinous voices, raised in behalf of the most lawless and sinister element of privileged wealth that is waging warfare on fundamental democracy, with one accord strove to create the impression that the great issue involved in the London election was public ownership and operation of public utilities. It was claimed that London had given public ownership a thorough trial and had repudiated it. This statement, though thoroughly characteristic of those who accept briefs for the most greedy, lawless and corrupting element in our government, lacked the merit of veracity. It was precisely what the masters of the subsidized press wished had been the case, but not what was the fact, as was admirably shown in a review of the situation by the brilliant author and journalist, Charles Edward Russell. This writer has recently returned from Great Britain, where he carefully investigated conditions in London. He is recognized as a consistent writer and competent authority, and his words are entitled to great weight. In a signed editorial published in the *New York American* Mr. Russell thus examined the claims of the servants of the public-service companies:

"Municipal-ownership had no more to do with the election in London than it had to do with the earthquake in Kingston.

"Municipal-ownership, either as a general principle or in detail, was not involved in the London election, and will not be affected by the result of the election.

"Here are the facts:

"About a dozen years ago the London that

is under the care of the London County Council (population about 4,300,000) entered definitely upon the general policy of public-ownership for all public utilities.

"That policy has been repeatedly approved by the electorate, and is by practically universal consent established as the course that the government of London (as of all other English cities) is to steer, no matter who has the helm.

"In London many things have been done on the lines of this policy, and some other things are yet to be done.

"The new County Council elected week before last will follow the policy just as surely as its predecessor followed it, and will never entertain any other idea.

"The Council, since the policy was adopted, has been of several complexions, but has never wavered from the idea of converting the public utilities from private to public ownership, and we may be perfectly sure that no matter who may be elected that idea will continue to rule.

"One reason for this is because the whole English nation is unreservedly committed to the public-ownership idea. It has nationalized its telegraph service, is now engaged in nationalizing its telephone service and is preparing for the day when it will nationalize its railroad service.

"In England it is not necessary to convince people that a nation can exist without being robbed; they believe that already.

"In England they have no faith in the sanctity of loot. They do not believe that the robberies of an express company have divine warrant, and they think that a country community can rid itself of a gang of watered-stock grafters and still escape the vengeance of Heaven.

"The English have very little superstition about graft. To them corporation thieving is much like other thieving, and they know of no reason why certain gentlemen should be perpetually privileged to have their hands in other people's pockets.

"Hence, all over England they have abolished the traction company and the gas company and some other forms of corporation frauds, and you can always be perfectly sure, no matter what you may read in Mr. Morgan's newspapers, that all these frauds will stay abolished—in England."

### **The Real Reasons For The Reactionary Triumph.**

To thinking men and women who are students of history and economic progress, there is nothing surprising or disquieting in the result of the London election, as will be seen when we consider the influences supporting the reactionaries and the facts that were used to sway a population composed very largely of persons who think more of taxes than of present health and happiness or the future greatness of their city.

The Liberal London Council, which has been in power in recent years, strove to change London from one of the darkest, most congested and non-progressive cities in the civilized world to a municipality worthy of the twentieth century. In pursuance of this plan it increased the lungs of the city by broadening the park area and adding seventy parks to those that had hitherto existed. How great has been this vitally important work is seen from the fact that the Liberal administration has added 1,400 acres to the park area of London. In many of these parks the council provided for recreation for the people.

A second great source of expenditure, which all thoughtful people must admit was imperatively demanded, was the broadening of the Strand and the construction of King's Way, the thoroughfare that connects the Strand with Holborn.

Other streets, where the municipal cars ran, had to be widened and dangerous curves abolished in order to accommodate the demands of the traveling without constantly menacing life, and these widenings, again, added much to the taxes.

The asylums for the care of the insane were taken over by the council, that the treatment of the most unfortunate of our people might be worthy of twentieth-century civilization.

Now the first cost of all these things was naturally very great and inevitably increased the tax burden. In referring to this increase in the tax burden, which was made the most effective argument with the tax-payers, Mr. Russell says:

"The London County Council attended to other things besides the extension of municipal-ownership, and it was the other things that got into trouble the party that has lately been in control.

"These things were chiefly the widening of the Strand and the opening of the new thor-

oughfare between the Strand and the Holborn.

"Enormously costly were all the undertakings. Real estate all along the Strand is the most valuable in London, and wherever the council effected a widening of the street it was forced to buy the entire parcel from which it cut a slice.

"The new thoroughfares, Aldwych and King's Way, were driven for half a mile straight through very costly property, all of which must needs be purchased before the improvements could be made.

"Again, London has never been a beautiful city, and the council, at great expense, has tried to modernize and adorn some of its streets.

"All this has piled up a very heavy expenditure. A great part thereof is merely an investment, because the property purchased will eventually return increasing revenues and abundantly justify what has been spent.

"But for the present there is nothing but outgo, and there will be nothing but outgo for a few years to come.

"In consequence of these expenditures, which involve something like \$100,000,000, the taxes of London have been heavily increased.

"The tax-payers have felt and resented the increase; they do not care to look forward to the time when the investments will begin to return profits; and at the election they most naturally voted against the party that had caused the enhanced burden.

"That was all there was to the London election. Municipal-ownership had nothing to do with the increased taxes and was not in any sense at stake in the contest.

"The municipally-owned enterprises of London, like those of other English cities, are admirably managed in the public interest, most of them are successful as business concerns, and the people have repeatedly shown their entire satisfaction with them.

"If you were to go to London a year from now you would find more municipal-ownership than you will find now, and if you were to go there again two years from now you would find still more—because the English people know when they have had enough, and they made up their minds some time ago that they had enough of pilfering by the private corporations."

That the public-service companies and financiers who long for such golden harvests

as are being reaped by the great public-service corporations of America aided in various ways to advance the interests of the reactionaries and friends of privileged interests, is doubtless true, for those seeking special privileges and class rights always support the enemies of genuine democracy and progressive government which makes the prosperity, happiness and advancement of all the people the object of first concern. But there were other factors besides that of increased taxation and the comparatively insignificant influence of those interested in private ownership of public utilities that were used with great effect by the financially powerful conservative forces, which are thus admirably summed up in an editorial in *The Outlook*:

"Besides the growing burden of County Council government, the Progressives had come in to conflict with many vested interests. The theater and music-hall proprietors had no liking for the close oversight of their structural arrangements by the council; and the proprietors of the music-halls found the censorship exercised by the council irritating. The brewing, liquor and saloon interests are almost invariably Tory in municipal as well as in national politics. They threw their

influence against the Progressives. So did the Anglican clergy and the supporters of those elementary schools in London which, by the Education Act of 1903, are still largely under clerical control."

Here we find the financial interests, which have small concern for the health, happiness and elevation of the great struggling masses of the city or for the beautifying and bettering of London, reinforced by the saloon influence, the music-halls, the dives and the reactionary clerical power. Of the absurd claim made by the servants of the Morgans, the Ryans and the Standard Oil corporate interests, that the election was a defeat for municipal-ownership of public utilities, the editor of *The Outlook* well observes:

"This overturn has been hailed in some quarters in this country as a defeat for municipal-ownership. Of course it is not. It is rather a check to certain experiments in municipal operation—a very different matter. The election of the Tories also puts to rest one bugaboo—the control of elections by municipal employes. These employes did vote, we understand, pretty solidly for the Progressives, but their votes were cast ineffectually."

## THE SATURNALIA OF BRIBERY AND CORRUPT PRACTICES IN SAN FRANCISCO.

### The Tap-Root of Municipal Corruption Again Laid Bare.

THE ARENA has pointed out on several occasions the important fact that whenever an exposure has been made of wholesale and systematic corruption, in city, state or nation, in almost every instance and place it appeared that the master corrupting power had been the public-service corporations and privileged interests who wished to rob the people and defeat the ends of civic righteousness and who found that the surest and safest method of procedure was to elevate their men to positions as political bosses or in other ways gain control of the party machinery, so that they could pack the offices with their kind of men—men who will sell out the people for personal enrichment.

The exposures and prosecutions made by

Governor Folk, in St. Louis, while he was district attorney, showed that the real source of the wealth and power of the ignorant and corrupt democratic boss, Butler, was the criminal rich who operated the public-service corporations and through bribery were able to gain franchises of untold value which belonged to the people. And the revelations in St. Louis have been matched wherever there have been thorough investigations of systematic bribery of the people's servants.

In the case of San Francisco we have another eloquent witness to the fact that the privileged few, chiefly the public-service corporations operating natural monopolies, are the master influences in the corruption of government and the exploitation of the people. Here has been brought out, by the sworn testimony of a number of persons before the

grand jury, one of the most amazing revelations of wholesale and systematic bribery by public-service companies on record. The United Railroads Company, the Pacific States and the Home Telephone Companies, and the San Francisco Gas and Electric Company, had all engaged in a wholesale bribery of the public servants. In the case of the United Railroads Company, the sum paid for bribery of Boss Ruef, Mayor Schmitz and the eighteen supervisors, reached, according to the testimony, the almost incredible sum of \$1,120,000—a sum which eloquently speaks of the immense monetary value of the public-franchise grants which the false servants of the people are systematically giving away to their real masters, while pretending to represent the public interests.

The conservative Republican *Boston Daily Journal*, of March 22d, in speaking of the disclosures made by the terrified officials who to save themselves confessed to receiving and disbursing the ill-gotten gains, said:

"The graft disclosures . . . show that several big corporations bought supervisors at so much a head to vote for franchises in which they were interested.

"In a nutshell, the supervisors have confessed to the following transactions: The United Railroads Company paid each supervisor \$40,000, and to Schmitz and Ruef \$400,000.

"The Pacific States Telephone Company paid to ten supervisors \$5,000 each.

"The Home Telephone Company paid ten supervisors \$3,500 each.

"The Home Telephone Company also paid to seven supervisors \$6,000 each. The Home Telephone Company paid to Ruef and Schmitz (estimated), \$150,000.

"The San Francisco Gas and Electric Company paid the supervisors \$750 each."

So long as the railroads, the telegraph, the telephone and the express companies are in the hands of private corporations, the nation and state governments will be corrupted and debauched by these immensely rich operators of the public-service monopolies, who desire to gamble with watered securities and farm the wealth of the nation into the pockets of the few great gamblers. So long as municipal utilities are owned and operated by private corporations, the city government will be the sport and plaything of the grafting public-service corporations and the people will be

the victims of the unholy alliance between the natural monopolies, the money-controlled machines and the men that the corruptionists select to misrepresent the people.

### Two Important Demands.

The interests of free government no less than of civic integrity call urgently for the introduction of two great progressive movements, the first and most important of all being the simple and practical measure for preserving and bulwarking the basic principles of democratic government—direct-legislation through the initiative and referendum. With honest direct-legislation provisions, the people will again be in actual power, and the scandal of corporation and machine rule under the fiction of republican government will be at an end.

But here it is absolutely important that direct-legislation measures be formulated by their friends and not by corporation attorneys or machine politicians. Measures satisfactory to the corrupt, subversive and anti-republican influences will be so framed as to be too cumbersome and difficult of operation for practical purposes. The framing of impractical measures is one of the tactics of the enemy when it finds the people will no longer be hoodwinked by the present corrupt and faithless rule. Friends of direct-legislation must be on guard to oppose all measures requiring too large a percentage of names to make it easy to obtain the requisite number within the specified time limit. They should also oppose measures so drawn as to make the will of the people permissive instead of mandatory in character.

Of less immediate importance but very necessary to clean, honest and effective government in the interests of all the people, is public-ownership of natural monopolies; but here again the people must not accept any gold bricks from the great green-goods men of Wall street—the high financiers who have already robbed every man, woman and child through extortionate charges made necessary to pay dividends on inflated or watered stock. The government, whether of nation, state or city, must resolutely refuse to pay for the water in the various stocks. If the people should accept the inflated prices, they would take upon themselves a generation-long burden which they would have no right to assume.

Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, citing Herbert



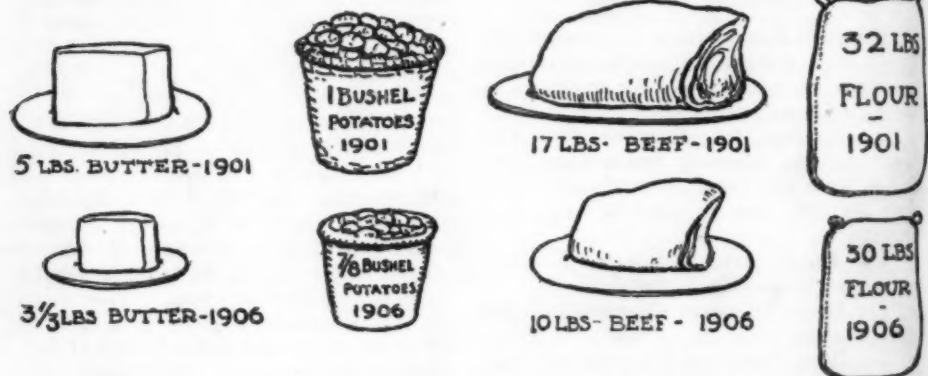
Spencer's law of social justice in the January ARENA, showed a wise, just and equitable course to be pursued. But if in the interests of immediate relief and a more liberal than just course the people should decide, in city, state or nation, to allow the corporations as much as the property could be replaced for, no serious injury would be done to the public.

Beyond this, however, the people should resolutely refuse to go. The rights and interests of the long-plundered and exploited masses must in the future be considered before the avarice of the criminal rich and those who voluntarily trust their money with these thoroughly-exposed and faithless gamblers.

### A CONCRETE ILLUSTRATION SHOWING HOW THE COST OF LIVING GREATLY EXCEEDS THE INCREASE OF WAGES.

**A**N INTERESTING and concrete illustration of how the trusts and monopolies are adding to the swollen fortunes of the few at the expense of the industrial millions of the nation—an illustration that reveals how essentially hollow is the persistent cry about

years ago, to-day find it impossible to make ends meet; while the housewife and the children, who have no income, still demand the same necessities that they required when prices were low. All these—those whose salaries have not increased, and those who are depend-



increase in wages, was recently given to the public by Chief Statistician Charles F. Pidgin, of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in an interview in the *Boston Herald*. Mr. Pidgin illustrated his statements by diagrams which we reproduce, showing the purchasing power of a dollar in 1901 as compared with its purchasing power last year, as shown by the statistics.

It is true that the farmer receives somewhat more for his produce to-day than he did five years ago. It is also true that in many instances the wages of the laborers have been increased; but for millions of consumers there has been no increase in income. The professional men and a large proportion of those who receive fixed salaries, which only enabled them to live in reasonable comfort ten

ent upon the salaries or wages of others—feel the bitter pinch incident to higher prices; while the wage advance is, in most instances, not nearly as great as the increase in cost of living. The farmer, also, when he buys anything, has to pay the increased burden due to the heavy increase in prices. In his interview, Mr. Pidgin said:

"The increase in wages throughout the country has not kept pace with the increased cost of living. This I make as a general statement based on Massachusetts statistics going back ten years."

In enumerating the increase in living expenses, this statistician said:

"Codfish has jumped from 7 to 10 cents



a pound; rice from 7 to 8; beans from 7 to 10; sugar from 4 to 5; soap from 4 to 5; starch from 7 to 8; roasting beef from 14 to 17; soup beef from 5 to 7; corned beef from 9 to 10; veal from 12 to 15; fresh pork from 10 to 14; salt pork from 9 to 12; sausages from 10 to 12; lard from 8 to 13; butter from 24 to 30; cheese from 14 to 16; potatoes from \$1.01 to \$1.14 a bushel; milk from 5 to 6 cents a quart; eggs from 21 to 25 cents a dozen; coal from \$6.00 to \$6.65 a ton; prints from 5 to 6 cents a yard; ticking from 11 to 13; sheeting from 8 to 13; four-room tenements from \$8 a month to \$12, and six-room tenements from \$11 a month to \$19.

"These figures put so as to represent the purchasing power of a dollar last year compared with that of five years ago, mean that 32 pounds of flour could be bought then for what 30 pounds cost now. That 13 pounds of fish could be bought with the dollar that is now expended for 10 pounds; that 17 pounds of beef could be had for the cost of 10 pounds now, and 14 pounds of mutton at the cost of 9 pounds to-day.

"A six-room tenement could be had ten years ago at less than the cost of a four-room tenement now, and this, in spite of the fact that the building statistics show an unexampled increase in the construction of houses."

### THE GOLDEN RULE IN MODERN BUSINESS. A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION.

WE HAVE, on several occasions, called the attention of our readers to the progress made along the lines of justice and enlightenment by various coöperative works in the Republic. Among these has been the Coöperative Association of America, whose master-spirit since its organization has been Mr. Bradford Peck. Mr. Peck built up the greatest department store in Maine, situated at Lewiston, and after the organization of the Coöperative Association of America this store became a part of the activities operated by the association. The aim has been to make the store more and more an exemplification of the broad spirit of fraternity based on justice, and to this end innovations have steadily been

introduced. One of these is the giving to all employes of two weeks' vacation in the summer and two weeks in the winter, or four weeks every year, with pay. Another important innovation which has voiced the coöperative spirit in a very practical manner has been the giving to each employé of a dividend representing a certain percentage of his salary. Thus, on the 15th of March of this year, every employé in the great department store received a check amounting to ten per cent. on his salary. These employes are not stockholders in the work and have not made any financial outlay; but the management recognizes the service they are rendering and their equitable right to share in the profits of the enterprise.

### A FURTHER WORD ON CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

#### The Most Flagrant Recent Attempt to Prejudge a Case Before It Reaches The Trial Court.

WE WERE impelled to write our article on Christian Science in the January ARENA because our sense of justice was outraged by the shamefully mendacious attacks made on its aged founder—attacks that had been proved to be false but which were persistently circulated. It was not our purpose further to discuss the subject, nor should we do so now if the matter were merely a religious

controversy. THE ARENA is especially concerned with great fundamental social and economic principles that make for harmony and the highest development of the individual through a just social organism. But since the publication of our article the course pursued by certain persons and newspapers in relation to a suit that has been instituted, seems so flagrantly unjust that we are impelled again to protest against actions that are at variance with the rights of the individual and so essentially unfair as to call for the censure

of those who realize how vital is justice to the healthy life of the State.

In recent years an offense against justice, which is morally disintegrating in its influence on society, has become more and more pronounced where lawyers, as wanting in a proper idea of human rights and the demands of equity as they have been desirous of gaining notoriety or of strengthening a weak cause, have united with reporters for sensational newspapers in systematic attempts to try certain cases in the public prints and gain popular condemnation for the accused by scattering broadcast *ex parte* versions and sensational write-ups and stories so colored and deftly turned as to create feelings of distrust or a conviction of the guilt of the accused in the minds of the people who read these reports and who know nothing of the real facts involved.

Perhaps the most flagrant example of this character, the most persistent and determined attempt to have an important case prejudged, is to be found in the methods attending the recent suit brought by the son of Mrs. Eddy and certain other relatives and beneficiaries, to prove that the distinguished founder of Christian Science is incapable of administering her property and that she is virtually a prisoner and the victim of a number of well-known and prominent leaders and officials in the church which Mrs. Eddy has founded and built up.

The bringing of such a suit as this in an age when the lust for gold so frequently overrides all the finer sensibilities and leads men and women to disregard the reverence and sanctity due to motherhood and to venerable age, might not occasion great surprise, for the materialism of the market has during the past fifty years played sad havoc with the moral idealism that was a chief glory of our people in the early days of our national life; but the manner in which the interested parties, their representatives and the reporters of the sensational press have systematically striven to prejudice the public mind by the circulation of the most absurd stories and by a vicious attempt to discredit honorable and honored men, whose lives have long been marked by a sincere and consistent endeavor to be faithful and true to the law of love and the teachings of the Great Nazarene, and the equally shameful attempt to discredit or misrepresent Mrs. Eddy, while pretending to be working for her, constitute so shameful a

page in newspaper and extra-legal action as to call for passing notice.

For several days immediately after the bringing of the suit a systematic attempt was made to discredit men like Professor Herman Hering, Rev. Irving C. Tomlinson and the honored and honorable official board of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, of Boston. These and other men whose lives had been as thoroughly consecrated to a cause which they believe to be true as are the lives of the noblest clergymen and leaders in other faiths, were represented as a designing clique, a set of men who had succeeded in dominating Mrs. Eddy and in making her devote her money to the advancement of the church work or to spend it in a manner different from what she presumably would have disbursed if it had she been free from the influence of her faithful secretary and the men whom she had gathered around her and had chosen to carry forward the work under her own direction. Supplementing these attempts to discredit her leading executive agents in the great work to which Mrs. Eddy had consecrated her life, were published moving stories describing the deep emotion of the strange son of the venerable founder of Christian Science when talking of his mother in the hands of those who, the public was expected to believe, were her jailers. The moving descriptions of the concern of this son, which were evidently published to give the impression of genuine solicitude for the feelings and well-being of the aged mother, would have been more convincing to thoughtful people had he not been aligning himself against all those who for a quarter of a century had dwelt in the love and confidence of the mother,—against the church which she had founded and against the honored representatives of the cause to which she had dedicated her life. Moreover, it was noted that this son, whom it was desired that the people should regard as so concerned for his aged mother, was consorting with the man who had been the most bitter and persistent enemy of Mrs. Eddy for years—consorting with, and having for his Boston counsel, this man who for a long time, on platform and with pen, has assailed Mrs. Eddy as either morally or mentally irresponsible; the man, who just previous to the bringing of the suit, had at the state house in Boston derided the teachings of Mrs. Eddy and industriously engaged in a vain attempt to take away the legal right of

tens of thousands of citizens of Massachusetts to enjoy the services of Christian Science healers in the hour of sickness, when they so desired to employ them. A man who cherished a mother's good name and who entertained ordinary filial love, or even respect for his parent, would hardly be expected to select as his active counsel in a case involving that mother, a person who had striven with a persistence as untiring as his effort had been futile, to convince the public that the mother was a fraud—a person either morally or mentally irresponsible.

Not content with the effort to discredit the leaders of the Christian Science movement and the attempt to create sympathy for the son who was harassing the aged mother with the suit, though he had never contributed a cent to her support, while on the other hand, he had been in recent years the recipient of generous aid from her, the counsel engaged in the effort to prejudice the case next gave to the public intimate personal correspondence of Mrs. Eddy to her son. This was published, headed up in a sensational manner and with comments aimed to color the subject-matter or to convey the ideas which the counsel wished impressed. If the son or his attorneys felt it important for the issue of the trial to place this correspondence in evidence, when the case was called, that would have been a very different thing from allowing intimate personal letters from an aged mother, that should be regarded as something too sacred for promiscuous publication, to be used in the sensational public press, long before the trial, and with the obvious purpose of discrediting the mother and proving that she was not competent to administer the fortune she had made.

And this was followed by other sensational stories whose evident purpose was to further prejudice the case and discredit those who have long stood before the community as strictly honorable citizens, before the courts had had any opportunity to consider the charges that had been made.

Our criticism has nothing to do with the case before the trial courts. It is a protest against an unjustifiable, cruel and indecent attempt to prejudice a case in the press of the nation before it has been tried in the courts—an attempt that ruthlessly disregards the feelings of and is calculated to harass and injure a woman eighty-six years of age, who has long enjoyed the respect and high esteem of the community in which she lives, and

who is venerated and revered as a loving benefactor by hundreds of thousands of intelligent and conscientious citizens.

If those so interested in Mrs. Eddy's fortune, and those equally anxious to discredit the religious belief that she holds to be redemptive in its power and to which she has consecrated her life, felt that they were justified in bringing the suit in the court, every sense of decency and regard for aged womanhood, no less than the simple right which is due citizens who have heretofore enjoyed the universal respect of the community, should have demanded that no unnecessary publicity be given to the case until the courts had passed on its merits.

This systematic effort to prejudge a case, indefensible under any circumstances, is especially reprehensible in this instance, because the presumptive evidence is so clearly against the contention of the petitioners. If Mrs. Eddy, when her income became more than sufficient for her personal needs, had spent the excess on her family and relations, or had revelled in personal luxury and paid little or no attention to the advancement of the religious theories she had promulgated and which she from the first had declared held the secret of health and happiness for all the people; or on the other hand, if, like John Wesley, she had given away in individual cases the excess of her steadily growing income, and then, after surrounding herself with people who believed her teachings to be redemptive in character, she had suddenly reversed her course, refusing any aid to relatives or to individual applications and had devoted a liberal share of her income to the furtherance of the religious belief she had promulgated,—we say, if such had been her course, while it would by no means follow that she had come under the undue influence of those surrounding her, it might have been claimed that there was presumptive evidence favoring such a contention. But the facts are just the reverse of this. From the time when she was able, by great personal deprivation, to issue her first edition of *Science and Health*, she has devoted her thought, life, energies and fortune to the furtherance of the religious beliefs which she is convinced hold the key to health, happiness and moral victory for the children of men. Never, for one day, has she swerved in her efforts to spread what she believes to be the gospel of life. Long before she was associated with any of the persons who we are asked to believe are exploiting her, this was

the master thought of her life, and it was for the purpose of better advancing this cause that she selected these persons to act under her direction in forwarding the work that was nearest and dearest to her heart. True, in recent years, after the church work was well-established, Mrs. Eddy, finding that her son did not seem capable of making an independent living, paid his debts and built him a beautiful and expensive home; but this was after, and not before, Mrs. Eddy had surrounded herself with the persons in whom she had the greatest confidence and whom she selected to help in carrying forward the church work.

Thus, the presumptive evidence is all against the contention of the fortune-hunting relatives, who, aided by their counsel and the sensational press, have sought to prejudice the public against high-minded men and to discredit and injure the founder of a religious belief that during the past ten years has grown in a most phenomenal manner in the midst of the most cultured centers and whose members are among the most intelligent and thoroughly conscientious of our people.

We hope and trust that the flagrancy of this offense will lead to a general protest on the part of self-respecting and justice-loving citizens against any recurrence of such shameless acts, which reflect so seriously on our manhood and civilization.

#### **Professor Kent Disproves a Typical Story Circulated in The Attempt to Discredit Mrs. Eddy.**

The revelations given to the public by Professor Kent, of Concord, New Hampshire, afford an illuminating example of the tactics of those who since the systematic attacks on the founder of Christian Science have in newspaper, magazine and by legal acts, sought in every way possible to discredit and harass an honored and venerable woman. Professor Kent was relied on by the attorneys representing the prosecution as a star witness in their hope to prove Mrs. Eddy incompetent to administer her estate, but a short time before the matter came up for a hearing in the courts, Professor Kent published a statement in which he declared that he would have nothing whatever to do with the plaintiffs in the suit, alleging, as a reason, that his statements and views expressed had been so grossly misrepresented by those attacking Mrs. Eddy and her cause, that he refused to have anything to do with those opposing the

founder of Christian Science. Professor Kent cited one illustration showing the way the enemies of Mrs. Eddy and her faith sought deliberately to prejudice and mislead the public. He said that a statement had been widely circulated to the effect that when he bought his home near Pleasant View, Mrs. Eddy had sent him a check for \$500. This story, which Professor Kent asserted to be absolutely without any ground in fact, had been so industriously and circumstantially circulated that many of his friends had believed it.

In precisely the same manner those who are attacking Mrs. Eddy under the shameless pretense of representing her, have tried to prejudice the case and prejudice the public by reference to Mrs. Eddy's trusted friends as her "jailers" and as an unscrupulous clique who are trying to exploit her; and this, notwithstanding the fact that these gentlemen have behind them a consistent record of honorable and upright citizenship.

#### **The Present Legal Status of The Case.**

Since writing the above the case has come before the courts. Mrs. Eddy placed her property in the hands of three trustees: Josiah E. Fernald, President of the National State Capital Bank, of Concord; ex-Congressman, Henry M. Baker, a leading citizen of New Hampshire, and a relative of Mrs. Eddy; and Archibald McLellan, the able head of the Christian Science Publishing Society of Boston. The two first-named of these gentlemen are not Christian Scientists. The appointment of such a board of trustees, and their acceptance of the trust, showed more clearly than ever the absurdity of the claim of the attorneys and the sensational newspapers, that Mrs. Eddy was a helpless prisoner in the hands of a clique of unscrupulous men.

Mrs. Eddy's action surprised and discomfited the plaintiffs. Finally, however, they made a motion to vacate the trust on the ground that Mrs. Eddy was incompetent to manage her fortune. The aim of the agents of the relatives whose avarice is leading them to harass an aged woman in order to get gold they never earned, it is claimed, is to get Mrs. Eddy before the courts and then elicit her views concerning her belief in regard to certain theories that are as counter to the concepts of *materia medica* as were the teachings of life and love which marked the gospel of the



Nazarene counter to the popular and accepted tenets of the Scribes, Pharisees and doctors of the law in the Jerusalem of Jesus' day. They claim that if she swears to certain statements, medical experts will declare her to be mentally unsound and thus incapable of administering her affairs.

Now just here let us pause to notice one fact. This suit has been brought ostensibly in the interest of Mrs. Eddy, to protect her property from being squandered wrongfully, and the grounds on which the greed-crazed relatives bring the suit is that she is not mentally able to conduct her business. But the beliefs or theories on which the plaintiffs' attorneys are said to base their hope of success are the beliefs and convictions that Mrs. Eddy has adhered to and taught from the day when she was penniless to the present time. All the fortune earned by this remarkable woman, which the avaricious relatives so covet was made while Mrs. Eddy held and taught these beliefs.

Moreover, the views held and taught by Mrs. Eddy, and which are as directly opposed to the teachings of the medical profession as were the religious views of Calvin opposed to the dogmas entertained by the members of the Spanish Inquisition, are to-day held by hundreds of thousands of thoughtful and highly intelligent people,—men like Judge Works, formerly of the Supreme Bench of California, Mr. Van Buskirk, formerly Attorney-General of Indiana, and Judge Ewing, of Chicago. All these, and many others that might be named, are men of commanding legal attainments; while in various other walks and stations of life are scores upon scores of the best representatives. Men like W. D. McCrackan, A.M., Charles Klein, Lord Dunmore, and hundreds of thousands of other intelligent people, all hold these same views, which it is said the attorneys for the plaintiffs are depending upon to prove Mrs. Eddy incompetent to manage her affairs.

From time to time independent thinkers and leaders of great religious and philosophical movements have promulgated teachings that have been diametrically opposed to the conventional and popular thought of their age, and in every instance where appeal has been made to the representatives of the popular concepts which were diametrically opposed to the new thought, the verdict has naturally enough been against the leader, whether he

be Socrates, the Nazarene, Galileo, Harvey or Hahnemann. Yet time and the march of civilization have vindicated the despised iconoclasts whose ideas were ridiculed and condemned in their day.

Socrates taught a nobler and loftier philosophy than was held by the society in which he lived. Hence, he was charged with assailing religion, teaching impiety to the gods, and corrupting the youths of Athens. The lives and writings of Plato and Xenophon show how he corrupted the youths and how he taught unsafe philosophy. But though he was a way-shower of righteousness, the conventional judges of his age condemned him to death.

If, in Jesus' time there had been medical schools of experts and asylums, how easy it would have been to have proved to the satisfaction of all the physicians who belonged to the conventional sects of Pharisees and Sadducees that the great Nazarene was dangerously insane, simply by citing some of his own teachings. Utterances like "I will destroy this temple and raise it again in three days" would have been all that was necessary to prove the contention which the physicians and conventionalists of the day desired to establish. Indeed, the false charges and the fate of Jesus at the hands of the Sanhedrim afford another of the many, many examples of how popular thought ever regards those who teach a new religion.

So with scientific and philosophical thought that runs counter to popular ideas. Witness Galileo in the hands of the scholarship of the Roman Church. How would John Calvin have fared before a learned council composed of members of the Inquisition? When Hahnemann had achieved marked success in the treatment of typhoid fever, he aroused such a storm of hatred and popular prejudice among the physicians and reactionary scholastic element in Leipsic that he was compelled to leave his home city. Who doubts but what, if Hahnemann had been brought before the courts and some old-school physicians had been summoned to pass on the sanity of the man who taught that "like cures like," they would have unhesitatingly brought in a verdict against his mental soundness?

Christian Science is a metaphysical system of thought, and what student does not know how difficult it is to convey the metaphysical concept to those habituated to think along material lines? It is said that from ten to



one hundred persons in a given time clearly grasp the force of Plato's philosophical teachings and are able to translate enough of his thought into terms that are comprehensible to the people to prove a luminous and inspiring influence in every period. Those who have studied the works of great metaphysical writers readily understand how difficult it is to make their terminology comprehensible to many people, because of the different significance attaching to the meaning of terms. A metaphysician holds that that is real which is eternally true, which persists and holds vital potentiality; while that which is transient, ephemeral and unvitalized with the principle of life is regarded as unreal. Yet when he speaks of reality he speaks in an unknown tongue to those who do not thus discriminate. The metaphysical and mate-

rialistic concepts are fundamentally opposed to each other, they are mutually antagonistic; and to bring the representatives of one philosophy to sit in judgment on the representatives of the other, on a vital question relating to a person's sanity who has previously proved herself a person of extraordinary executive ability, possessed of an exceptionally able business mind, and whose teachings have brought life, comfort, happiness, peace and joy to hundreds of thousands, would be as fundamentally unjust as was the treatment meted out to great leaders of other revolutionary theories of life that have run counter to the popular ideas of their time but whose beliefs have been vindicated because they held enough of truth to make them vitally helpful and redemptive in their influence on struggling human lives.

#### ARIEL: A TYPICAL EDITORIAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.

**A**MONG the number of bright and readable little monthly editorial journals which come to our table, journals that are taking the place of the pamphlets and leaflets of other great reformatory epochs, *Ariel* deserves special mention. It is edited by the Rev. George Elmer Littlefield, who left a lucrative position as a popular minister in the Unitarian church, because he felt he could better carry forward the work of the Great Nazarene by giving his life's energy to the advancement of social justice or equitable economic conditions. For several years he has dedicated his life to the cause of social progress along coöperative lines, and on the platform and with pen he has done yeoman's service for economic advance and the awakening of man on the conscience side of life. Some time since, he, together with a number of kindred souls, formed the Coöperative Fellowship and established a coöperative printing plant at Westwood, Massachusetts, and it is from that office that *Ariel* is published.

But Mr. Littlefield, unlike Elbert Hubbard and several other strong writers who have established personal or editorial journals, has gathered a band of remarkably fine special writers about him; men of breadth of thought and tolerance of spirit; men of clear mental vision and warm hearts; sincere reformers who worship toward the dawn. Among these writers are Bolton Hall, John Ellis, Ralph Albertson, Morrison I. Swift and, until his untimely death, Ernest H. Crosby, whose last contribution was written for the April number of *Ariel* and appears in that issue.

The aim of Mr. Littlefield and his co-workers is to voice the purposes and aspirations of the present world-movement toward a coöperative social order. The publication is socialistic in spirit, but it is very broad and hospitable to all fundamentally just and democratic reform movements. It is one of the most virile and vitally progressive journals that are sowing the seed of light and civilization and preparing the soil for a juster and truer social order.

## EDITORIALS BY ALLAN L. BENSON.

**How The Mouthpieces of The Subsidized Universities Slander The Dead in The Interests of Plutocracy.**

**A** KEPT university serves many useful purposes to a rich man under the fire of public criticism. It was a Standard Oil professor who declared a year or two ago, that if Lincoln were alive he would be denounced by the "mob" as a corporation lawyer, merely because Lincoln was for many years before the war an attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad. And now another Standard Oil instructor, Professor Sparks, declares that if George Washington were alive he would be denounced as the possessor of a "swollen" fortune, because of the fact that his \$530,000 worth of property made him one of the richest men of his time.

Only the slightest analysis is necessary to show the dishonest character of such statements. It is indeed true that Lincoln, in his capacity as an attorney for the Illinois Central Railroad, was a corporation lawyer. But he was a corporation lawyer in the days when even the greatest corporations, instead of being a menace to the public welfare, were striving loyally and honestly to assist in the development of the country. Between the honest professional service which Lincoln rendered to his corporation client and the rascally service that the modern corporation lawyer renders to his tax-dodging, law-breaking client, there is all the difference that exists between honesty and dishonesty. And it is to insult public intelligence to assume that the people cannot comprehend the difference.

The same may be said about Professor Sparks' statement concerning Washington and his "swollen" fortune. It is of course true that Washington was the Rockefeller of his day, in the sense that, like the Standard Oil magnate, he was the richest man of his time. But there the similarity ends. Washington inherited much of his wealth, adding to it by his own efforts and the efforts of his slaves. Although a beneficiary of the institution of slavery, he was opposed to it in principle and often expressed the hope that it would be abolished.

On the other hand, Mr. Rockefeller started with nothing and acquired all he has by swing-

ing the bludgeon on his competitors, profiting from unjust laws and defying just laws. More than once he has been caught in the act of trying to manipulate Congress for his own selfish purposes, and if minimum sentences were to be imposed upon him for all the violations of law of which he is actually guilty, a life-time of a thousand years would find him still in jail.

But Standard Oil professors, perhaps, cannot be expected to comprehend the difference between swollen fortunes of the Rockefeller kind and the fortune of Washington. American citizens generally, however, will have no difficulty in perceiving the fact that no fortune, however large, is "swollen," in the bad sense of the term, that is the product neither of the dishonesty of its possessor nor of the injustice of the laws under which it was produced.

In other words, even though another Standard Oil professor once declared that Rockefeller was greater than Shakespeare, there is still an essential difference between the financial and industrial methods of John D. Rockefeller and the methods of George Washington. And that is why Washington could come back here with safety to-day, while Rockefeller oftentimes has to dodge around rapidly to elude the police.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

**Equitable Distribution of Wealth The Pressing Economic Demand.**

JAMES J. HILL, president of the Great Northern Railway Company, and Leslie M. Shaw, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, are both supporters of existing economic and political policies. In the opinion of each of these gentlemen, nothing is radically wrong with things as they are. Yet both Mr. Hill and Secretary Shaw predict hard times and men out of work, Mr. Hill fixing the date at 1908 and Secretary Shaw confining himself to a general statement of impending distress when "men who will be hard to deal with" will be turned out of factories. And the fears of both gentlemen are based on the belief that there has been over-production of manufactured goods.

When famine strikes India there is more excuse for men and women starving to death—

the productive capacity of India is relatively small. But what excuse can there be for men and women going hungry in the United States, the productive capacity of which is so far in excess of the needs of its people? Is there not something shockingly inconsistent in the declaration that American citizens must go hungry, as they have gone hungry before, because they have produced too much food; that they must go ill-clad because they have made too much clothing, and shelterless because they have made too much lumber and built too many houses? And yet ex-Secretary Shaw and James J. Hill both defend the economic and political conditions that make such absurdities not only possible but inevitable. For in times of industrial depression, we have often gone hungry because we have produced too much—never because we had produced too little.

Plainly the great problem of the age is the equitable distribution of the products of labor—not the increasing of the product. The introduction of machinery into industry has solved the question of production. We have learned how to produce enough to support all

in comfort, but those who are doing the producing have not learned how to obtain their product. Nor will the system defended by Mr. Hill and Secretary Shaw ever give the producers their product. Under this system there will continue to be periodical industrial depressions, during which the producers will go hungry because they have produced too much—because of "overproduction," as the Hills and Shaws put it.

Two men who were raising potatoes on a vacant lot could hardly be pacified in their hunger by the kindly statement of a neighbor that their misery arose from the fact that they had raised too many potatoes. The explanation would not be accepted by them as valid, and they might be expected to look into the kindly neighbor's cellar to ascertain if any of their potatoes were concealed therein. Some day the 16,000,000 adult male Americans who inhabit this country will be as skeptical about the "overproduction" explanation of industrial depression. And possibly when that time comes they will look in the cellars of some of the eminent explainers and find their potatoes.

ALLAN L. BENSON.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Public-Ownership League.

### Duluth's Report for 1906.

THE GAS plant and water-works of Duluth are operated under one department. For the year 1906 the total income from both exceeded the total expenditures for operation, maintenance, and interest by \$47,573, \$40,768 of this being from the water-works and \$6,805 from the gas plant. Of this amount \$40,639 was invested in extensions.

The water rates are now just half what they were under private-ownership. These reductions in water rates have saved to the consuming public, since the change to municipal-ownership, over half a million dollars.

Gas, in 1906, was sold at 75 cents for light and 50 cents for heat and gas engines; whereas in 1898, under private-ownership, \$1.90 was charged for light and \$1 for fuel.

The cost of manufacturing gas has decreased

from 49.68 cents in 1899 to 40.52 cents in 1906; the cost of service from 33.64 cents in 1899 to 14.07 cents in 1906; and the interest account from 69.68 cents in 1899 to 17.95 cents in 1906; all per 1,000 feet. The decrease of the two last items is largely accounted for by the increase in amount of gas sold from 25,309,963 feet to 151,004,300 feet.

The cost of the gas plant is given as \$615,632.04. Operation, maintenance and interest in 1906 amounted to \$109,538.30, of which \$61,191.52 was the cost of gas in the holder; \$21,244.69 was expended in services, and \$27,102.09 paid in interest. Lost taxes would have been about \$3,574; and depreciation at 3 per cent., \$18,469; a total of \$131,581.30. The total receipts were \$116,342.75. Comparison made between the 1906 gas rates and those in force under private-ownership show a saving to consumers last year of \$114,159.28.

## Holyoke, Massachusetts.

THE CITY gas plant of Holyoke increased its business last year 8.3 per cent., and the city's electric-light plant shows an increase of 35.6 per cent. The gas receipts (\$1 per thousand feet) were \$160,202. After figuring off all expenses, interest and depreciation, a net profit of \$21,241 is shown.

Electricity is sold at 10 cents per kilowatt hour, and the price for arc lamps has been reduced to \$60 per year. The income of this department was \$135,746. The expenses, interest and depreciation, leave a net profit of \$39,029. The Holyoke officials do not figure off "lost taxes," nor does the city lose the taxes; rather, these plants pay triple taxes on themselves into the city treasury.

## Escanaba, Michigan.

GAS AND electricity for lighting are furnished by the Escanaba municipal lighting plants owned and operated by the city.

According to a report published in the *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, there are 92 arc lamps run on a moonlight schedule at \$81 per year, and 5,500 incandescent lamps with meter rates of 8 cents to 12 cents, according to the amount used and the discount allowed for prompt payment.

The receipts for the eleven months from January 1 to December 1, 1906, were \$36,004. The expenses for the same period were: salaries, \$6,061; repairs, etc., \$4,945; insurance, \$465; coal, \$9,198; interest on bonds, \$1,558; a total of \$22,228. This leaves a net profit (omitting depreciation) of \$8,046. If \$61,149 be allowed for lighting the streets and city buildings there still remains a balance of \$1,897. The city council has directed that an expert electrical engineer be employed to investigate the plant and report improvements that should be made.

## Richmond, Indiana.

THE ELECTRIC-LIGHTING plant which has cost \$200,282 brought in \$63,188 last year, and as the operating expenses were \$33,587, the gross profits of \$29,601 seem to be amply sufficient to cover interest, sinking-fund, depreciation and lost taxes, and still leave a good credit balance. There was an increase of customers in 1906 from 1,383 to 1,731. The plant furnishes current at 7½ cents per kilowatt. For street-lighting 294 arc lights are furnished.

## Cleveland's Street Cars.

SUPPLEMENTING the mention made last month of the street-car fight in Cleveland, we are glad to note that the report of the first three months' operation of the Municipal Traction Company shows financial success for the city's three-cent line from the start. The total receipts were \$17,271, operating expenses \$16,085, leaving a balance of \$1,186. This covers the period of open war, during which the lines did not reach the Public Square.

## Monroe, Louisiana.

THE TOWN of Monroe, Louisiana, is not only the first in the United States to achieve municipal-ownership of street-railways, but has municipalized many other activities as well. The coöperative idea in municipal affairs, as the *Chicago Socialist* puts it, prevails in this town to an almost Utopian degree. Light, power, transportation, education, medical attention, sewerage, household supplies, and even amusement are furnished by the municipality. The citizens of Monroe enter a theater directed by the mayor and his assistants; witness a ball-game in a park owned by the city; ride on trolley-cars whose crews are paid by the people; take electric-light and power from plants wrested from a private monopoly; cross the Ouchita river on a municipal bridge, without paying toll; purchase household supplies in a city market-house; are taken to a municipal hospital when they get hurt, and when they die are given final attention by a municipal undertaker. All this has been accomplished since the election of Mayor A. A. Forsythe, six years ago. He has succeeded himself year after year, standing for municipal-ownership in an extreme sense, having behind him a city council which believes in the theory as devoutly as himself. The municipal electric railway was built without the necessity of a bond issue. The city council used \$100,000 of the reserve fund for the purpose of building and equipping a street-railway. The line, covering nine miles of streets, was thrown open July 11th, and proved a money-maker from the start. The city officials are looking forward to a profit of ten per cent. at the end of the fiscal year. The street-railway system has recently been extended eight miles to a suburban park owned and operated by the city for the especial benefit of those in



moderate circumstances. The park embraces 125 acres, skirting a lake where free bathing and boating are afforded the masses at the expense of the municipality.

#### **East River Ferries.**

THE GRAND Street Board of Trade, of Brooklyn, the Municipal Ferry Association, and others in Greater New York are advocating the purchase of the Broadway and Grand street ferries by the city. The position taken by these organizations is that the service would be improved under municipal management. Surely, this speaks well for the Municipal Staten Island ferry. There is a strong sentiment in the metropolis, also, that the ferry-service should be free, at least during rush hours.

#### **Municipal Insurance.**

A MUNICIPAL-INSURANCE system has been proposed and will be investigated by the city council, of Knoxville, Tennessee. The State of Tennessee has been insuring its buildings for a number of years and is said to be making money by so doing. If the city owned only one building the plan would not be thought of, but as its property is scattered the risk of a total loss is small. The only insurance money the city has ever received was for some plate glass which was shattered by an explosion.

#### **Dalton, Ohio.**

A PROPOSITION to light the village of Dalton, Ohio, by a public electric plant carried at a special election recently, and a \$7,000 plant will be erected.

#### **Fergus Falls, Minnesota.**

THE CITY council has voted to submit to the voters the question of issuing \$24,000 bonds for the purpose of rebuilding the electric-light plant.

#### **Arlington, Ohio.**

THE PEOPLE have voted to issue \$15,000 bonds to buy and improve the present private electric-lighting plant and operate it as public property in the public interest.

#### **New Madison, Ohio.**

IT HAS been decided, after long discussion, to build and operate an electric-light plant

under city-ownership and operation. The cost will be \$16,000.

#### **Ladd, Illinois.**

THE COUNCIL has decided to install a public electric-lighting plant for village purposes, and will go ahead with the work without a referendum vote.

#### **Tama, Iowa.**

THE COUNCIL submitted the question of establishing a public lighting service to the citizens, who voted in favor, authorizing the bonds. The plant will be built at once.

#### **Elyria, Ohio.**

CONTRACTS are now being let for the erection of a complete municipal electric-lighting plant. The cost will be about \$50,000.

#### **Ashland, Wisconsin.**

COUNCIL has unanimously voted to have plans prepared and invite bids for the construction of a municipal electric-lighting plant. It has also been decided to develop a local water-power for the city's financial benefit.

#### **The Intercolonial Railway.**

NEWS OF the successful public operation of public utilities continues to come from the great dominion of the north. Minister Emmerson, of the government railways, made his annual statement to Parliament on March 22d, in which he showed that in the six months ending with December there was a surplus of \$370,000 on the Intercolonial. The freight rates on this system he said are the lowest, not only on this continent, but in the world. He opposed the granting of any franchises on the government lines to private companies. He advocated the state purchase of the feeders and the extension of the main line to Toronto. The Dominion has given away \$15,000,000 in railway subsidies which would have been far better spent in the construction of state lines.

#### **Telephones in Manitoba.**

THE PEOPLE of the Canadian province of Manitoba have voted some 10,000 to 7,000 in favor of public-ownership of the telephone business. It was in the smaller places that the opposition votes were largely found. The



programme of the provincial government is to establish the system under the joint ownership of the province and the municipalities, while the liberal party urges single provincial government-ownership and operation. In any case, the provincial government is now proceeding to establish a system of its own and has called for tenders of poles and 1,000 miles of line.

#### Alberta's Telephones.

THE GOVERNMENT of the Province of Alberta, Canada, is taking steps to supply all the cities, towns, rural municipalities, and local improvement districts that want them, with telephones at the lowest possible prices, the province undertaking the installation, operation and maintenance of the whole system. It is believed that this service will be rendered for \$10 to \$12 a year and give long-distance connection for little more than the cost of a postage stamp. The Public Works Department will be ready when the frost is out to go ahead with the construction of the line from Edmonton to Lloydminster. Edmonton has been called the Glasgow of Canada. In addition to a progressive system of taxation she also owns her own street-railway, telephones, water-works, and electric-lighting system. A number of the new towns throughout the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan are following the same course.

#### Fort William, Quebec.

THE CITY of Fort William, Quebec, realized a profit of \$3,300 on its municipal telephone plant in 1906, after providing for interest on the investment and a sinking-fund to redeem bonds and setting aside 10 per cent. of gross receipts for depreciation. (Some municipalities do figure off depreciation very liberally.) The citizens pay only \$2 a month for business telephones, and \$1 a month for residence service. This city also owns its electric-lighting department which gives the citizens equally cheap service and still brings a small profit to the city. The gross receipts last year were \$34,000.

#### Government Coal Mines.

A DISPATCH to the Chicago *Record-Herald*, from Regina, Saskatchewan, says that Hon. W. R. Motherwell, provincial minister of agriculture, said recently that the local gov-

ernment had decided to purchase coal areas from the Dominion government and operate mines on the public-ownership principle. As each day passes, the minister said, the government has the necessity of this action forced upon it more clearly. The minister considers it the duty of the government to relieve the present fuel situation, and the only real solution of the fundamental problem involved is for the government to operate the mines.

#### Port Arthur, Canada.

THE SMALL city of Port Arthur has not bestowed any franchises upon favored citizens, but has built and owns all its public utilities. It owns its street-car line, water-works, telephone system, and lighting plant, the total investment being \$150,000. The income is \$36,000 a year, or 24 per cent. on the investment. The rates charged citizens are low. One-half the taxes are paid out of the revenues of these public utilities. The other half comes from a municipally-owned water-power, which the city sells to mills and factories. In fact, there are no taxes levied in Port Arthur, the needed income of the government being provided in these municipal activities. The *New York Sun*, from which the above facts are taken, says that in this remarkable town every citizen takes a personal interest in all the city enterprises—that the man on the street knows to a cent what each plant is making, and is a mine of information on city affairs. In other words, each citizen feels that the gas plant, trolley-cars, and the rest, are partly his own property, and watches their operations as he would his own business.

#### The Reaction in London.

IN THE county council election in London, March 2d, the progressive councilmen who have done so much for the best welfare of the city and its people, were decisively defeated by a band of reactionaries who call themselves "reformers," and the new county council stands 2 to 1 against the extension of public activities. How far retrenchment will be attempted does not yet appear, but the leader of the reaction, Lord Avebury, is ardent in his opposition to the entire principle of municipal-ownership and has done valiant service in enlightening the English public on the superiority of private over public monopolies. The truth seems to be that the old county council made some mistakes, and was likely

to go too far, or at least too fast. This being true in a small way the opposition was able, by means of parading some rotten bricks and woolen blankets through the streets, and by employing American campaign methods generally, to thoroughly arouse the property owners whose taxes were slightly raised, and to bring about the reaction. As a matter of fact, it appears that less than one-fifth of the tax-rate paid by Londoners is due to the progressive policy of the council. And there is another side which was not paraded in the streets. The council had reduced epidemic diseases 44 per cent., phthisis 32 per cent., and the general death-rate from 20 to 14 per cent. Eighteen years ago London had 40 parks and open spaces of 2,600 acres. Now it has 110 parks of 5,000 acres. Old haunts of disease and crime have been obliterated from the map of the city, and in scores of ways the general welfare of the city has been radically promoted. It is comforting to know that however much the election may afford

comfort to the enemies of civic progress much and perhaps most of the good done by the old County Council cannot be undone by their successors; and it is not at all impossible that the force of circumstances and the logic of events which these gentlemen will meet in office may so far convert them to the larger conceptions of civic responsibility that they will not actually tear down the splendid municipal housing properties nor sell them to Lord Avebury or his American friends.

#### The Electricians' Strike in Paris.

THE SIGNIFICANT fact about the strike of the electricians of Paris in March is that the employes of all plants, except the one which is owned by the city went on strike. The demands of the strikers were for such terms of short hours, weekly day of rest, old age pensions, etc., as were being enjoyed by the employes of the city plant. The employers were compelled to grant the demands.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

### THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the National Federation for Peoples' Rule.

#### Legislators Under Direct-Legislation.

THE QUESTION is often asked, "What will become of legislators when we have direct legislation?" An answer comes from the experience of Oregon, which is both interesting and instructive. We quote from the *Portland Oregonian*, of January 27, 1907, sent us by the kindness of our friend, Max Burgholzer.

The *Oregonian* says:

"The present session of the legislature bids fair to redeem the reputation of legislatures in general, in this state, and to lessen the general distrust in which law-making bodies are held. Whether the opinion be well-founded or not, there has long been a feeling that the legislature misrepresents the people. This idea has found frequent expression not only in the newspapers of the state, but among people who take an interest in public affairs. This legislature is different in several respects from any that has preceded it. Its members were

nominated and elected by the people and not in a convention controlled by a boss. The legislature was organized without the presence of any of the men who have been active figures in the preliminary struggles in years gone by. The legislature elected senators on the first ballot and without any candidates at Salem maintaining expensive headquarters where liquor and cigars were provided for all visitors. The two houses have been working two weeks and have gotten along fairly well without the presence of 'House bill 104,' in other words, a supply of whiskey at a convenient place. It is asserted that there is no liquor to be had in the capitol, and there will be none throughout the session. The legislature has manifested from the start a disposition to eliminate the extravagances that have brought criticism upon its predecessors. There is no talk whatever, of clerkships held by women of doubtful character.

"The legislatures of years gone by have been the ruin of many of their members.

Going to Salem from quiet towns where they live respectable lives, the members were thrown into the company of lobbyists and employes of senatorial candidates, and were wine and dined as they never before had been. In forty days of fast living many of them acquired new ideas to life and were never of use to themselves or to their families afterward. Many a man who went to the legislature, rich in reputation, returned to his home a bankrupt. Boodle and booze did the work. This session seems to have started out on a high plane, with no liquor in evidence and no one entertaining lavishly or trying to exert an improper influence upon the members. This session is likely to be a creditable one to its members and to the state."

#### Mr. Bryan on Direct-Legislation.

IN A SPEECH before the legislature of Oregon, on January 24th, Mr. Bryan congratulated the state upon the advanced position it had taken in adopting the initiative and referendum, and spoke, in part, as follows:

"The object of the initiative and referendum is to bring the government nearer to the people. If the legislative body refuses to do what the people want done, they have it in their power, through the initiative, to compel the doing of what they want done; and if the legislative body does something the people do not want, they can put a veto on what the legislature does, and when you put in their hands this power, you put a restraint upon the legislature, which will seldom be used, for, when they know if they go astray the people can correct them, they will not be so apt to go astray.

"I was in Switzerland, where this system of initiative and referendum has been in use for years; they have it in the cantons and the whole country. They have the government resting so securely on the will of the people that, while they have three distinct nationalities, speak three languages in the management of the government, and record their proceedings in three tongues, it would require the armies of nearly all Europe to take liberty away from little Switzerland. The more freely the people have their way, the more safe is a government.

"The way to make a government strong is to make it good. I believe it is the destiny

of this country, this nation, and this government, to destroy the thrones of the world—not by force or violence, but by showing them something better than the thrones—a government resting upon the consent of the governed, strong because it is loved and loved because it is good."

#### Among The State Legislatures.

NORTH Dakota has joined the ranks of the truly democratic states. Representative Ueland's initiative and referendum bill, described in the last ARENA, has been passed by the legislature. It amends the constitution, giving 8 per cent. of the citizens the power of the initiative and 5 per cent. the right to invoke the referendum. The amendment is self-executing, but must be submitted to the next legislature and must then go to the people.

IN MAINE the Weeks bill for a constitutional amendment passed the House by a unanimous vote and the Senate by a vote that was practically unanimous, only one senator failing to vote in the affirmative, and he asked to be excused from voting. The Maine and North Dakota bills are practically the same, and the reason in both states why the direct-legislation measures adopted do not apply to constitutional amendments is the fear of reopening the prohibition question.

THE MISSOURI legislature has passed the joint resolution submitting a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum, and the people will take final action on it in 1908. Under this amendment the initiative can be secured by 8 per cent. of the voters in each of at least two-thirds of the congressional districts, and the referendum demanded by a 5 per cent. petition of the citizens of at least two-thirds of the congressional districts. In other respects it is like the amendments in the other states.

THE MASSACHUSETTS Public-Opinion bill has been reported favorably by the joint committee with only one dissenting vote. The corporations' lobby and the *Transcript* are fighting against it.

THE WASHINGTON House has passed the constitutional amendment bill by a vote of 66 to 26.

THE CALIFORNIA Assembly has voted down the direct-legislation bill of Representative J. O. Davis.

ALTHOUGH 60,000 voters petitioned for it, the House judiciary committee of the Michigan legislature voted 9 to 3 not to permit a vote on the initiative and referendum bill.

SPEAKER Shurtleff, of the Illinois legislature has introduced a bill for the repeal of the Illinois public opinion law.

THE MINNESOTA bill noted in the April ARENA has been favorably reported by the Senate committee.

THE PENNSYLVANIA bill has been favorably reported, and a strong campaign is being made in its support.

THE OHIO legislature is not in session, but Herbert Bigelow is. The Senate, before adjournment last year, passed a constitutional amendment bill for direct-legislation, but the House took no action. It will take 73 votes to pass the measure in the General Assembly, and Mr. Bigelow is working hard during the recess to make sure of this vote. Before the end of March, Mr. Bigelow announced that he had secured pledges in support of the bill from 81 members.

THE HOUSE committee, in charge of the constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum in Rhode Island, has decided to report the bill with a recommendation for indefinite postponement.

THE DELAWARE legislature has failed to obey the behest of the advisory vote taken last fall, whereby the people, 6 to 1, instructed them to enact a direct-legislation law.

#### **A Referendum Over The House of Lords.**

THERE is a widespread sentiment in London against the power of the House of Lords to obstruct legislation by a disagreement. In his speech at the opening of Parliament, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman voiced the general feeling when he asserted that the opposition to the will of the people interposed by the House of Lords must be overcome by necessary constitutional changes. It is sug-

gested in behalf of the present system that in case of a deadlock of the two houses, the House of Lords should be required to pass a disputed bill with an amendment reading: "This act will not take effect until approved by a majority in a popular referendum."

The London *Tribune*, which has won the sincere appreciation of progressive people throughout the world by its ardent championship of the cause of equal suffrage during the present struggle in England, says:

"There is no doubt that the referendum is the most logical alternative to the veto of an obsolete Second Chamber. To propose it, would be to take the House of Lords at their word. They profess to know the will of the people better than the House of Commons. That the government should go on quietly, session by session, sending up bills for the Lords to mutilate or reject, and imagine themselves all the time to be doing their duty to their constituents, seems to us a disastrous policy. The referendum provides an active method of training the people in the art of government, whereas it is open to question whether a nation which merely tenders a vote once in several years for a party rather than a principle, is capable of becoming a genuinely self-governing body."

#### **Buffalo, New York.**

THE REFERENDUM League, of Buffalo, New York, is having a hard fight to secure for the people a right to vote on the acceptance or rejection of a new city charter which a few people have prepared and sent to Albany with the request that the legislature put it in force. The league wants the referendum so arranged that each section of the charter shall be voted on separately by the people. By a vote of 18 to 6 the Board of Aldermen have adopted the referendum clause. The Buffalo papers say that no city in that state ever took such a vote. And besides it would cost almost \$10,000.

The league held its annual meeting recently, at which an active membership of nearly 5,000 was reported, and the treasurer reported a balance on hand of \$122. The following officers were elected for the year: President, Lewis Stockton; vice-president, J. J. Siegrist; secretary, Dr. Thomas M. Crowe; treasurer, William H. Baker.



### **Lincoln, Nebraska.**

THE INITIATIVE and referendum ordinance, passed by unanimous vote of the city council of Lincoln, on February 18th, provides that the people, at the spring election, shall determine whether the municipality of Lincoln shall accept the privileges granted by the state law, of referring all large and important measures to the vote of the people, instead of having them decided by the council alone. On the demand of 20 per cent. of the voters of Lincoln, any measure of large importance may be taken from the council and submitted to the voters at the polls. Emergency measures and appropriation bills are accepted. There is a provision in the Nebraska law, also, for the initiative which can be taken by a 15 per cent. petition. Both the initiative and referendum in this Nebraska city's laws are mandatory.

### **Pennsylvania's Primary Election.**

THE NEW uniform primary election act was given its first test throughout Pennsylvania on January 26th. With the exception of those naming state candidates the new law does away with all nominating conventions of parties that have polled 2 per cent. of the largest entire vote cast for any candidate at the preceding election, and provides that these parties shall nominate their candidates by direct vote of electors of the respective parties. In Philadelphia there were twenty-seven names on the Republican ballot for the mayoralty nomination, ten on the City Party ticket, which organization is opposed to the regular Republicans, and thirteen on the Democratic ballot.

### **News Items.**

THE GRANGERS and labor union people of Chautauqua county, New York, have secured the introduction of a bill at Albany, requiring that all appropriations made by boards of supervisors in excess of twenty-five thousand dollars, must be submitted to a vote of the tax payers of the county, and also requiring the submission to vote of any appropriation in excess of ten thousand dollars, in the event of a petition signed by 2 per cent. of the voters.

THE McCORD bill, providing for the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people has passed the Pennsylvania

House by a vote of 146 to 15, and has gone to the Senate, which there is every reason to believe will pass it.

WE HAVE been requested to call the attention of our readers to a valuable article by Professor John R. Commons, on the need for the initiative and referendum in American cities, published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, for December, 1902. This is a Columbia University publication.

THE CONNECTICUT Referendum Union was organized at Sound View, March 2d, with H. J. Hilliard as secretary. The object of the union is to work for the enactment of a good general referendum law in that state.

THANKS to the faithful work of Louis F. Post, the Chicago Charter Convention, by a vote of 42 to 4, finally reduced the percentage requirement for a referendum on franchise questions from 20 to 10 per cent. in the draft of the new city charter.

THE DISTRICT Trades and Labor Council, of Toronto, has asked the government for a law making all municipal by-laws, which have met with public approval by a referendum compulsory.

THE REFORM divorce bill recently passed by the South Dakota legislature will not go into effect until it receives a majority of the votes cast in the general election in November, 1908.

THE VOTE for ratification of a natural gas franchise at Lee's Summit, Missouri, in March, was 166 to 1.

AN ELECTRIC light franchise order, that has been passed by the city council of Mitchell, South Dakota, will be voted on by the citizens in the April election.

GOVERNOR Stokes, of New Jersey, in a reply to a question from the Newark Board of Trade, as to his attitude on a bill to permit Newark to build its own lighting plant, said that he would wish to see every bill of the kind have a referendum clause to it, and he then would favor it.

NINE different questions, involving bond issues of two and a quarter millions are to be



submitted to the voters of Pittsburg on March 28th. The questions include the building of a garbage plant, a city hospital, more park land, wharf improvement, repaving, the widening of streets, and water-works extensions. If the people should vote against the issuance of bonds for repaving, an expense which should be included in the tax levy and paid for when done, they will, by their referendum, give Boston and many other bureaucratic cities a good example and a much-needed lesson.

THE LEGISLATURE of Nevada recently undertook to pass a bill incorporating Tonopah, without referring it to the people, but such a demand for the referendum came up from the people that it has been granted.

THE CALIFORNIA Senate has unanimously passed a bill providing for a referendum vote of the people of the state at the next general election on the question of Asiatic immigration.

A REFERENDUM vote on franchise ordinances, after they have been passed by city councils, is provided for in a bill laid before the Illinois legislature by Assemblyman Behrens. It applies to all cities in the state, and the petition required to invoke the referendum is 25 per cent.

SEVERAL townships in the neighborhood of Statesville, South Carolina, have recently voted to bond themselves to an extent of from \$15,000 to \$25,000 apiece for the purpose of subsidizing a local railroad enterprise.

THERE is a strong movement in Montreal toward a law limiting all municipal contracts to 10 years unless approved by referendum vote. The Citizens' Committee demand the law, and in support of this demand, *Canada* says: "The proposal deserves the serious consideration of the government. It is the safeguard, in accordance with the principles of democracy, against the abuse of power to which elective municipal bodies are unfortunately exposed. In submitting the sanction of the city council's act to the municipal

electors, the proposed law does not in the least encroach upon municipal autonomy."

SENATOR John Mitchell, who has a bill before the Massachusetts legislature, demanding the election of United States Senators by popular vote, has revised his bill by adding a referendum clause so that the legislature may have an expression of public opinion on this measure.

THE NEW JERSEY House has passed a bill which will give the voters a referendum on the use of voting machines.

THE CITIZENS of North Milwaukee, Wisconsin, are to take a referendum vote at the April election, respecting the issuance of \$20,000 bonds.

THE CALIFORNIA Assembly, by a vote of 59 to 19, has passed a bill for the removal of the state capitol from Sacramento to Berkeley. This bill had already passed the Senate and now goes to the people for a referendum vote at the next general election.

AFTER a disheartening experience with the legislature at Sacramento recently, Mrs. Mary T. Wilson, a prominent equal-suffragist, went before the Political Equality Society and advocated the abandonment of the fight for equal suffrage, and other reform movements. Mrs. Wilson startled her hearers when she declared that there was only one way to reach recreant legislators and that was by inaugurating the initiative and referendum. "When people who are spending their own time and money and labor in a cause entirely for the good of others, making an impersonal disinterested plea for humanity, are met by the supposed representatives of the people with narrow-minded, bigoted unfairness, what hope is there for any reform measure placed before them? None whatever. We will gain our ends quicker, if we drop completely the equal suffrage and other reform measures, and work entirely for the initiative and referendum. That is a reform measure of much broader scope than any of the others, and would ultimately include them if adopted."

RALPH ALBERTSON.

## COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,

Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America.

### The N. O. Nelson Company.

**J**UST how the new and larger American form of coöperation is to come about is a subject upon which there are many opinions. Many forms will be noted, as usual, in this month's items of coöperative news. One of the successful efforts, if not the only one, to solve the hardest problem for the coöperator—that of the factory—is the well-known work of Mr. N. O. Nelson, of St. Louis. The division of profits on last year's business amounted to \$177,500, and this went in capital stock to every one of the employés and customers. That was "the 21st year of profit-sharing with employés, and the second year with customers. The employés have received dividends for every one of the 21 years.

"Those who have been with the company the whole 21 years have received in dividends on wages and dividends on stock the amount of between two and three years' extra pay. They own stock for it which is better paying and safer than any other investment they could make. They are fully established partners in the business.

"The customers received for the past year a larger dividend than the previous year. It cost them nothing. It was not a gift, it was their proper share by the coöperative plan of business.

"For the first six months' dividend of last year they were given the choice of cash or stock, only a twenty-fifth part took cash, and these mostly because they had quit business.

"The plan is to turn the whole business over to the employés and customers without any payment from them, the dividends paying for the stock. When that is done, they will own a large and very valuable property,—the big St. Louis store, the splendid Leclaire factories, the Bessemer factory, the stocks of goods in St. Louis, Leclaire, Bessemer, Los Angeles, Pueblo and Joplin, and all the outstanding accounts and cash. It will be theirs for their joint use and benefit.

"When the stock held by anyone reaches \$2,000 he may then draw the dividends in

cash, when it reaches \$5,000 he will be paid only in cash."

Mr. Nelson, from whom the above quotations are made, is one of the best known advocates of coöperation in the United States, and his personal example and influence lend great weight to the economic doctrine of which he has so long been a faithful apostle and, may we add, a true prophet.

### Proctor, Vermont.

VALUABLE beginnings in the direction of coöperation are being made at the marble works, in Proctor, Vermont, which are owned and operated by Senator Proctor and his son, the present Governor of the state. They have established a coöperative store system for the workmen. The initiation of this plan was suggested by an article descriptive of the coöperative stores of the Krupp Gun Company, in Germany. During the past year the total sales amounted to \$471,000 and each of the 3,300 employés received a dividend of 8 per cent. upon the total amount of his purchases for the year, which amounted in all to \$33,000. A committee chosen by the employés from their own number, shares in the management of the store and audits the accounts at the close of each season's business. The company furnishes the capital. During the four years that this system of coöperation has been carried on, over \$111,000 have been divided among the marble-workers of the company. Nearly all of the townspeople patronize these stores of the company because the prices are lower and the service better, but none of them, unless members, receive any dividend. The firm has established a number of features common to betterment work, but none of these is so important as the coöperative store.

### Co-operative Building in New York.

THE BUILDING of expensive apartment structures on the coöperative plan is attracting just at present a great amount of attention,

and the idea bids fair, says the *New York Times*, to be applied in the near future to the middle grades of multiple housings, and eventually to the cheaper kinds of flats and tenements.

The plan had its earliest trial in the group of studio buildings erected on west Sixty-seventh street, between Central Park, west, and Columbus avenue, New York, by William J. Taylor, who is now the active spirit in the Coöperative Building Construction Company. Since then the company has built, for one group of "founders" as the original participants in such enterprises are called, an eleven-story apartment house at the northeast corner of Lexington avenue and Sixty-sixth street, on a plot 100 x 170. On the adjoining southeast corner of Lexington avenue and Sixty-seventh street, a similar structure is just being begun, while at the northeast corner of Lexington avenue and Sixty-seventh street, on a plot 59 x 100, transferred a few days ago, there will be still another. The coöperative plan is also responsible for the duplex studio apartment house nearing completion on Eighty-sixth street, adjoining the northeast corner of West End avenue.

Briefly stated, the plan involves the purchase of the plot and the erection of a building by a group of individuals, the founders, each of whom, through his subscription, becomes the virtual owner of one of the apartments in the completed structure.

The founders are organized into a corporation which takes a title to the site, and which, at all times, occupies, with regard to the entire operation, the position of owner. A founder may, at any time, dispose of his investment. This can usually be accomplished without difficulty, since founders' shares in the coöperative apartment houses hitherto erected have sold at from \$2,000 to \$10,000 premium.

Plans have also been prepared for a fourteen-story duplex apartment house on a plot 100 x 100, at Park avenue and Eightieth street.

These are all expensive buildings—shares in which cost as a rule something like \$20,000 each. The *Times* says that this investment, however, quite equals in the comforts and conveniences provided, a \$50,000 investment in an individual house.

It is freely predicted by the press that this principle of house-building will soon be applied to the problem of housing the tenement

population. Yes, when the tenement dwellers discover it for themselves.

#### Co-operative Fire Insurance.

A NUMBER of Yolo county, California, farmers, who live in Woodland and vicinity, have taken the preparatory steps toward the organization of a coöperative fire insurance company in that county. A meeting was held recently and temporary organization effected. At this meeting, \$25,000 of insurance was subscribed. Permanent organization will be effected when the final papers are prepared, at which time it is expected the amount of insurance will be materially increased.

At a meeting of the Washington State Grain-Growers', Shippers' and Millers' Association, held at the Agricultural College, Pullman, January 10th, a Mutual Insurance Company was organized to insure standing grain against fire. The farmers are paying from 8 to 16 cents an acre for such insurance in the old companies and all present believed it cost less than 5 cents to cover all losses.

#### A Scandinavian Insurance Company.

THE SCANDINAVIAN Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of Fresno, California, was incorporated in 1899. Starting with 35 members and \$50,000 insurance, it grew until, on January 1, 1907, it had within the boundaries of Fresno County 972 members and \$1,280,113 of insurance in force. During 1906 the insurance increased at the rate of \$1,000 a day, and the fire losses paid were \$2,690. In the seven years of existence only four assessments have been levied; one for 30 cents and three for 25 cents each on the \$100 of insurance. This is certainly a very low premium, about one-third of the old-line charges. The company has but \$3,000 on hand. This sort of mutual insurance is one of the best organic expressions of business brotherhood we know of. There is no need of money in the treasury, no use for corruption funds; when losses are to be met they are met by the direct and, therefore, most economical method.

#### A California Creamery.

THE DANISH Creamery Association, of Fresno, California, has been doing business

since 1896. During ten years its business has increased from one and a half million pounds of milk to nearly seven million pounds. Last year its payments amounted to considerably over \$200,000.

Danish creamery butter has taken a number of first prizes and gold medals at state fairs, in competition with butter from all parts of California. Its reputation is so good that it is never able to supply the demand. The company is composed of 177 stockholders, who each paid in \$50, or \$8,850 in all. Eight per cent. interest is paid on this.

The creamery plant is modern and up-to-date, and has electric as well as steam-power. Together, with horses and wagons, it is worth over \$9,000. Besides this, there was, on January 1st, a surplus of \$3,523.69.

It has been able to pay its patrons two to four cents more per pound of butter fat than the commercial creameries paid, hence it has always been able to hold its members and customers, and to extend its business.

#### A Co-operative Type Foundry.

A NEW coöperative enterprise, known as the Coöperative Type Foundry Association, has been organized at Chester, Pennsylvania. The association expects to produce hand-made type for high-grade magazine and book work, and to make a far better quality than that manufactured by the trust, which makes most of its type by automatic machinery. Mr. Ziegler, an expert type-foundryman is at the head of the association, and all of the interested men are fully experienced. "There is every indication," says the *Times*, of Chester, "that the new plant will, in a few years, become one of the largest industries of its kind in the country." They have already purchased a large brick building to be used for their purposes, and work has been begun making the necessary alterations and installing the machinery.

#### Maine Granges.

HOULTON grange will do a coöperative business of \$100,000 for the year. The Patrons' Coöperative Corporation, controlled by the State Grange will transact a business of \$275,000, and the coöperative financial work among the granges, besides that mentioned, will amount to at least \$100,000 more. They have three patrons' fire insurance companies, representing a business of \$25,000,000,

furnishing a safe and cheap risk from fires at a cost of one-fourth of 1 per cent. The membership represents one-twelfth of the population of the state.

#### New Jersey Granges.

THE NEW Jersey granges make the following report of coöperative business for the year: Hope, \$2,697; Mercer, \$5,980; Morristown, \$43,243; Pioneer, \$3,500; Riverside, \$14,335; Columbus, \$4,500; Mullica Hill, \$7,000. "These," says the *Country Gentleman*, "are only a few of the New Jersey granges that are making it profitable to themselves to unite in business enterprises, where buying and selling farm products and farm supplies in large quantities, entitle them to a good discount from regular retail prices."

#### Athol, Kansas.

ATHOL, Kansas, boasts of three coöperative industries controlled and almost entirely owned by nearby farmers who have invested their surplus capital in building up the town. There is the Athol Coöperative Grain Company, with an elevator which handles 23,000 bushels of grain, and which in 1906 disposed of 130 carloads of grain to the entire satisfaction of the farmers; the Farmers' Shipping Association which handled 129 cars of stock and made sales amounting to \$130,056.12, besides \$253 collected as damages from railroads. Of this amount the share-holding farmers received \$129,354.80. The People's Lumber Company is the latest venture of the farmers, and it is believed it will prove successful.

#### Co-operative Ice Company.

A CO-OPERATIVE ice manufacturing company, which was incorporated in Orange, New Jersey, recently, has purchased a large lot for the location of their plant and it is expected that it will be ready for business by the first of June. The company will purchase ice and make deliveries to consumers until the plant is completed. Demands for ice are constantly coming in from people in the Oranges, Montclair, and Bloomfield.

#### Central Consumers' Ice Company.

A CO-OPERATIVE ice company has been formed in New York by saloon-keepers, who propose to keep themselves supplied with ice



at a reasonable cost. They have purchased a large brewery, which they intend to transform into an ice-plant with an output of 200 tons a day. Family trade will be carried on after the members are supplied.

#### Findlay, Ohio.

SOME coöperators, of Findlay, Ohio, have opened a coöperative general store. They have conducted a cigar and tobacco stand for some time, and finding it a success, they have entered into business on a larger scale.

#### Amera, Wisconsin.

ATTENTION was called in the March *ARENA* to the Polk County Coöperative Company, of Wisconsin. A fire broke out in the night recently in the store of the Amera department, and in spite of the heroic efforts of the local fire company, the immense stock of goods and the building went up in flames and smoke. Happily, it was well insured, and the net loss will probably be not over \$5,000. The Right Relationship League correspondent, at Minneapolis, calls attention to the fact that if this loss had fallen on the membership at Amera alone, it would have been a very great hardship, but falling, as it does, upon a membership scattered throughout the entire county, and owning several other stores, it will not be a serious matter. The Amera department will rebuild at once. In union there is strength.

#### Lewiston, Maine.

ANOTHER ten per cent. cash dividend to co-worker employes in the great department store of the Coöperative Association of America was distributed in March. This follows a five per cent. cash dividend paid in September, making a total of fifteen per cent. dividend on wages to co-workers during a year. The co-workers are enthusiastic for coöperation because it pays.

#### Armstrong, Iowa.

THE FARMERS' Coöperative Elevator Company was organized at Armstrong, Iowa, in January, 1906, with a capitalization of \$25,000, \$5,000 of which is paid up. There are about 140 farmers interested. Owing to some difficulty in finding a suitable site, the elevator was not finished until November 15th. Since then the buyer has taken from 40 to 83 loads

daily, and at present is working the elevator to its fullest capacity, and even turning grain away every day. The line elevators in competition with this new company are offering 30 cents a bushel in an effort to crowd out the coöperative elevator company, but the farmers have become convinced that they are capable of transacting their own business and have staunchly refused to accept these terms. These same elevator companies are paying but 24 cents in nearby towns.

#### Auburndale, New York.

A PROPERTY-OWNERS' Coöperative Society, and a Coöperative Construction Company have been organized by the citizens of Auburndale, Long Island, New York, to improve the town and guard against infringement of their rights. The construction company has been organized with a capital stock of \$50,000 and is engaged in the manufacture of concrete building-blocks, of which it is proposed to construct the town. A small plant is now in operation at Auburndale, and it is proposed, in the spring, to enlarge this, put in new machinery and engage in the manufacture of blocks on a very extensive scale.

#### The Co-operative Journal.

THE *Coöperative Journal*, of Oakland, California, is the official organ of the Pacific Coast Coöperative Union, the Washington Farmers' Grain and Supply Company, and the Right Relationship League of Minneapolis. It contains a large amount of coöperative news from various branches of these organizations and from some other fields of coöperative effort. It is published by the Coöperative Education Publishing Company, of Oakland, a joint-stock company, incorporated under the coöperative act of 1878. Seven hundred shares of stock have been sold at ten dollars each, and are held by forty-five different individuals and companies. The authorized capital is twenty-five thousand dollars. Because of the lack of capital the company does not own its own printing plant, and has not paid any dividends. The *Journal* is doing good work and deserves the hearty support of all friends of the cause.

#### Enamelan, Washington.

THE ROCHDALE Coöperative store at this place was incorporated in May, 1905. It



has a paid-in capital of \$3,850. The first year's business amounted to \$31,063; and during the first eight months of the second year the business was \$37,731. The interest paid on capital is 8 per cent. Dividends paid were  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The membership numbers 141, and the assets are computed at nearly \$8,000.

#### Roseburg, Oregon.

THE ROSEBURG Rochdale Company has 76 members and a paid-up capital of \$3,405. During 1906 it did a business of over \$25,000, and after paying 8 per cent. interest on capital turned over to its members the very remarkable dividend of  $14\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on their purchases. Naturally the members are enthusiastic, and they have undertaken at once to double the capital and business of the company.

#### Mississippi Farmers.

THE ANNUAL meeting of the State branch of the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America was held at Jackson, Mississippi, in February. It declared itself in favor of adopting the warehouse plan which was outlined by the national organization at its convention in Atlanta, and steps will be taken to put the plan in operation for the benefit of the farmers at the earliest possible date. It is said that the national organization has 750,000 members and keeps 150 organizers in the field extending the society's territory and membership.

#### Durand, Wisconsin.

A CO-OPERATIVE store in Durand, Wisconsin, is organized on the equal-ownership Rochdale plan, with a capitalization of \$25,000 and 67 members. The business increased 25 per cent. in six months. About one-third of the sales have been to non-members.

#### Grain Dealers' Convention.

THE THIRD annual convention of the Farmers' Grain Dealers' Association of Iowa, representing 135 coöperative grain companies in the state, with a membership of over 20,000 grain growers, and indirectly representing over 100,000 farmers, was held in Fort Dodge on January 30-31, 1907. The convention was an enthusiastic and helpful one, and the progress reported was most encouraging.

#### Co-operative Brick Factory.

A CO-OPERATIVE brick manufactory has been organized by some merchants of San Francisco with a capital of \$200,000.

#### University of Cincinnati.

THE UNIVERSITY of Cincinnati has a coöperative book store, which is made up of 300 students, each of whom contribute \$1 each year to the capital fund. Five per cent. interest has been paid on the capital and the first year's dividends were 19 per cent.

#### University of Colorado.

THE UNIVERSITY of Colorado is to have a coöperative store operated by the students. This movement is endorsed by the faculty and the regent.

#### Long Island Co-operative Colony.

A YIDDISH coöperative colony is to be established on Long Island, and about 400 colonists have bought land on the instalment plan, paying from \$100 to \$250 each.

#### E. V. Wilcox on Agricultural Co-operation.

THE STATUS of the coöperative movement among farmers in this country is summed up by E. V. Wilcox, in an article, entitled "The Great Value of Coöperation," which appeared in *Farming*, for January, 1907.

"The coöperative movement among farmers has come to stay. There are nearly one million men in it at present, not for political purposes but for the purpose of attending to their own business. That is the reason why the movement brings results with so little noise. There are already more than 700 coöperative grain elevators owned by the farmers who produce the grain. One of them, in Ruthven, Iowa, saved to the farmers in one year five times the total capital invested. An association of farmers' wives in the same town secured to its members five cents per dozen more for eggs than they could otherwise get. Coöperative cotton gins in Oklahoma pay two dollars per ton more for cotton seed than other gins. A large coöperative creamery in Iowa pays three cents per pound more for butter fat than the farmers had previously received. These and many other similar results have been achieved in increasing the farmers' profits, and at the same time the price of the finished product to the consumer has been lowered."

RALPH ALBERTSON.

## "LOVE—THE LAW."\*

### A BOOK STUDY.

BY D. FFRANGCON-DAVIES.

**NIGHT AND MORNING** is a dramatic poem or poetic drama. It has for its central figure the woman to whom Jesus, the Christ, spake the words: "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more."

The curtain goes up on a scene, bold and grand in design, and painted with mystic subtlety. Night, the Eastern Night, is there, and we are in and of it. Grimly suggestive are the judiciously few scenic touches—the tower of Antonia, and the Pharisee Eleazar's house, cheerless and ghostly, with the "Fading stains of paschal blood on

"The lintel of the tomb-like entrance door."

It is here that Miriam, Eleazar's wife and thrall, passes a loveless existence, within this "low Judean house," which, as is ever the case in the East, has its garden. There is a sense of color and of beauty in the garden landscape as depicted by the poet which is striking and quite in the spirit of the subject. Our artist loves her garden and is alive to every cogent detail, revelling indeed in what may be styled pre-Raphaelite fancy and imagination, and unconsciously recalling Browning's delight in his "one old populous green wall," without faltering at all in her individual treatment of the theme. The scene is a song, and it is the singer's own. Subtle rhythm and musical knowledge mark such lines as:

"The penetrating stars  
And the majestic mistress of the night—  
Fair silver-sandalled moon—on her slow way—  
Across the spacious sky—looked down between  
The boughs that parted to the passing breeze."

It would be easy and delightful to dwell upon the melodic fitness and the clairvoyance of every one of these and kindred phrases. Very happy, too, the heralding of the discovery of the lovers, Miriam, and Leonidas, the Greek, with note of nightingale and noise of restless plashing waters. The difficulty of comment is that one does not know how to pass on. One would like to linger over many passages.

\*"Night and Morning": A poem. By Katrina Trask. Price, \$1.25 net. Flexible leather, \$2.00 net. New York: John Lane Company.

The character of Leonidas, "the brave imperious Greek," is finely and surely drawn, with insight and intuition which go far to prove that so-called sex limitations are arbitrary concepts. Strong and imaginative, with all the wayward fancy of the Greek, and swayed by such ideals as inhere in mythological belief, the lover pleads his cause with a power which cannot fail to influence the woman who loves him. Had the wooing been less forcible, the drama would have been episodic. Being what it is, *i. e.*, characteristic, the wooing carries conviction, and is essential to and inherent in the warp and woof of the piece; and the drama is, consequently, whole and upstanding. So earnest is Leonidas that he touches the chord of true and simple earnestness in Miriam to such purpose that the Universe itself becomes interested in the tale of their love. The very seasons

"Have waited on to-night."

And "the music of the stars" tells the pair that they

"Stand before the portals of high heaven"

but it is significant that "heaven" means "Athens"—with Miriam—to Leonidas. It, moreover, becomes clear that Miriam's loftier aspiration cannot, of itself, secure the triumph of the higher Ideal which comes, as the poet presently shows, through Idealism, and not through Law. The supreme demand of love is that *it shall yield*. But to what? We must wait to the end of the poem for our answer. Here is the keynote of the symphony, if I may be allowed the phrase. The insufficiency of the impermanent is yet to be made manifest. Pressed by her confession of the illumination of her universe, and of the dawn of diviner joy through love, Miriam is driven, in a strong passage, to take refuge in what we may describe as a gloss upon the fundamental principle of Jewish prophecy:

"Obedience is more than argument."

Now her vision clears, only to be obscured

by the crafty Greek with the very ancient and modern argument of "the life of love," and the death of "the formal bond." Like a shuttle through the loom of the drama goes the argument based upon the ideal, and its antithesis based upon the seeming real. David and Solomon are brought upon the scene, and the problem of the manifestation of the divine through the human, the coming of the Messiah through the royal line of David, is presented by the lover. Then, with irresistible force, comes to Miriam the thought of her bondage and the memory of the first coming of Leonidas and love, so that she is now attuned to hear again the voice of Aphrodite and of Eros, and the wisdom of Pallas Athene. The breath of love stirs once more her woman's personal heart, and her soul plunges madly toward the visionary goal of her being. Her life seemed filled by the mutual love of herself and of her lover, while her obedience to Jehovah, and Law seems to be rewarded but by inhuman bondage to Eleazar. The sweet romance of days that are gone, when Leonidas came to tell

"Many a tale  
Of thy sea-girdled and blue-vaulted land,"

comes back with renewed passion. *Must it all come to an end, now?* At length, with cunning appeal to the pity of the fast yielding woman, pity for himself—pictured as being forgotten by her in her daily and religious life, the lover triumphs:

"No thought for thee!—For thee—Behold my heart!  
Leonidas, my love, thou hast prevailed."

The higher ideal is lost, the impersonal has become wholly personal. Love yields indeed, but to the bondage of human will, not to Love. The Night, the Nightingale, the Garden, and Leonidas have triumphed, and the woman goes out with her lover to her doom.

In the section of the poem styled "The Middle Watch," there is an arresting, a breath-holding hush when

"Without the vineyard, Freedom beckoned them;  
Within, Fear stalked, a phantom by their side."

Here is a touch of irony and of Sophoclean fate, accentuated by gliding serpent, shudder of rustling leaves, swoop of hawk and howl of jackal. Then—the lost moon, the gathering clouds, the silent nightingale, and—what?

There are two masterly touches as the curtain comes slowly down on the "Middle

Watch of Night." Through the gathering gloom, in silence made doubly oppressive, now that the watchman's solitary cry of "Midnight," which momentarily broke it, is still:

"A hungry vulture flew to Golgotha."

There is a swiftness about this line which is most graphic and portentous.

And in the stillness,

"Then the grim door of Eleazar's house  
Moved stealthily—and opened to the dark."

Nothing could be finer from a dramatic point of view, than this vague terror, dumb and unseen, pointing to a coming doom. The very abruptness of the lines chills us with a thrill of fear. All is silent, the very door is in the plot, and opens stealthily without one creak. Then—It—Vengeance is there!

It is Morning. The contrast is striking. The night seemed full of promise of fulfilment which ended in disaster. The Morning breaks, but even the joyous light is dark with forebodings and threatenings to the abandoned one. How is it to end? The tone-color of the opening section of the Symphony (for such it is) is appropriate, and the up-building of harmony through melody is classic and formful in spirit and construction. Here is a writer who does not forget the antiquity in the youth of the world.

The influences of the voices of the past are present, but the "Bird" that sings is a free singer. Would there were more of these free singers who have found liberty in the constraint of Love and Truth. How beautiful is that hint of "A far off, divine event," given us by that "one fleecy cloud on Olivet." How real the everyday-ness of the scene, the actual—the moving crowds, and how each figure fits into its place in the unrehearsed pageant of Jerusalem's diurnal existence. The Pharisee and Scribe—we see them and their eyes "beneath lowered eyelids," eager to mark the movements of *others*. What a quick picture it is. In two strokes the thing is done.

And, there is the central figure, Miriam, taken in her flight, her "rhythmic grace" a mockery and a shame to her and to her tormentors, and her degradation paraded to the public gaze of men, women, and children, the latter, with their lisping "death," surely a fearsome comment on judgment by physical, by man's notion of God's Law. And Miriam,

on her defense for what seemed, in her eyes, pure enough, shielding her love for Leonidas and his love for her from the scorn of the crowd, is defiant. She could not see that she had forgotten something, or that something had not dawned upon her, or been born to her. That new birth was to come, the light to dawn. She was to see herself as recipient, producer, nurturer of a spiritual idea, which is surely the inner meaning of motherhood. Just now, however, law—as physical man understands it, in his own overbearing interests, is condemning that which her woman's soul would fight for, namely, the innocence of her love and her surrender to Leonidas. For this cause the shower of stones must fly. Let it be so! She would die for her idea of love and feel a proud and pure woman. Her love, to her, was "The fountain in the desert," "The grove of palms," "The burning bush." She could indeed defy the cruelty and the stones.

The interest of the reader is in no danger of waning for the verse is consistently picturesque and significant. The crowd is moving up the slope toward the Temple to "find the Christ" and to seek his judgment. A hint of the coming unravelling of what may be termed the mystery of ungodliness is finely given at this point. Miriam has now arrived at the Corinthian Gate. The Veil, the Ark, the Cherubim, are close at hand. Here, she falters and is in fear.

"Thus thought she, knowing not, as yet, that now  
Without the Veil, the Mercy Seat was nigh."

It was but for a moment that she failed in her pride, and so she passed into the Temple Court where, by the Treasury, the Master "sat and taught the multitude." The lines upon the voice of Jesus are very telling. They suggest the depth and power of the sympathy of "the Man of Sorrows" whose voice now penetrates to the soul of Miriam. The sound of the Master's voice, His glance of pity, understanding, and uplifting strength, are treated with inborn reverence, and the poet here reveals the intimate knowledge which comes only to those who sit and wait.

I will not attempt to describe the course of the new birth, or the dawn upon Miriam of the new Light which enabled her to see a "new heaven and a new earth." The Temple Court was her Patmos. She found her Christ there. The inflowing stream of the Christ influence into the soul of the Outcast,

which is seen in the last twenty pages of the poem is indeed a very "river of God." No man or woman can rise from a perusal of the lines upon the coming of Miriam unto Jesus without feeling the chains of sense fall away. The poetry is full of significance to those "who have ears to hear." And the realization of the failure of love, as Miriam had conceived it, "in fulness to fulfil itself," the breaking down of the last barrier between self and not-self, adds the finishing touch to a masterful study of character. Henceforth Miriam begins to know the higher law of love and to lament her own offense "against the light," a sin which she now sees, wrought ill to men, aye, even to the man she loved.

When relieved from the presence of her tormentors, she awaits condemnation worse, it may be, than the death with which they had threatened her—she knows not what awful form it will take—to her come the swift words which convey the human aspect of the central message of Jesus, the Christ, that "God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity." There is no condemnation to them who know that Love is Law. The Christ reveals Love as Life. There is no death. And because Jesus, the Christ, is there to show her that Life is all, and that death is not, his words "Go and sin no more" are to her as natural and as compelling as the joy which follows emancipation. Death and fear are not, and therefore, sin cannot be. It was as though the Master had said,—Go, and know that sin has no dominion. The Evangel is that mortals need not sin. The only constraint is that of Love. Jesus has made it known to Miriam that the law of Love has made her "free of the law of sin and death." Love yields not to sin or death. Love's surrender is to Love. It reigns supreme. Its Kingdom is the real Idealism which converts the Individual into a Social force. The constraint of Love sets him free to manifest the reality of Eternal Life. And the individual who does this work is, to quote the author's argument to the poem, "Triune,—body, mind, spirit."

A subject, made difficult because of the point-of-view of those who regard law as law and not as love, who conceive God as a jealous God of punishment and not as the spirit of Love, has been treated ideally in this poem. None but they who realize and hold as their ideal the essential oneness, i. e., the fitness, the harmony, the homogeneity,



the righteousness of triune man—spirit, mind, body, and the necessary consequence of this ideal in action, can grasp the full significance of the Master's manumission and consecration of Miriam, or that of the poem which our author has written. The condemnatory verdict of the physical man leaves the culprit in his or her rebellious ignorance. It takes the verdict of the triune man to make the divine manifest—to make the path of growth and development clear. And indeed, is it not the actual fact that the better a man is the gentler he is, and the less disposed he is to condemn?

The poem is a notable achievement, and is one of which American art may well be proud. Its development and constructive power indicate a mind of very uncommon

order. There is a continuous upbuilding of interest until the last words are spoken. The poem is didactic, but its artistic form is preserved, in spite of the extreme difficulty of the situation which might easily have resulted in the art being, at all events, obscured by theological discussion. There is in it a lesson, but that lesson is poetry, and fine poetry. There is philosophy, but it is so essentially human that it becomes the poetry of vibrating, pulsing, rhythmic humanity. I said the work is a symphony. Such it is, or, at least, a Symphonic Poem. And it is new. Melody, harmony, "orchestration" are rich, fresh and inspired. There is a sense of completion about it all which enables one to say that its music is poetry, and its poetry, music.

D. FFRANGCON-DAVIES.

London.

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.\*

*The Malefactor.* By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 304. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

NOT SINCE *A Prince of Sinners* has Mr. Oppenheim written so excellent a novel as *The Malefactor*. While many of his recent stories have been admirable in plot and intensely interesting, as is everything he writes, they have shown unmistakable marks of hasty workmanship and been more or less disappointing to those who felt that the author was capable of better things.

In *The Malefactor*, however, we have a story which reminds us strongly of Mr. Oppenheim's earlier work. It is a fine psychological study of a man who goes to prison for an offense which he did not commit, in order to save the reputation of a vain and frivolous woman who could have lifted by a word the cloud of suspicion which hung over him. At the end of ten years he comes out, an embittered man, determined to do everything he can to make others suffer as he has suffered. His efforts in this direction and the manner in which he succeeds afford the material for the plot of the story.

Had Mr. Oppenheim been content to make the outcome of the story a little less obvious

from the beginning, the novel would have gained in strength, but barring this defect, the book is an exceedingly good piece of work, in which all the characters are well drawn, while it brings out clearly the futility of all efforts to secure satisfaction or happiness so long as the heart is filled with hate and resentment.

AMY C. RICH.

*The White Cat.* By Gelett Burgess. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 390. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

IN CHOOSING the fascinating mystery of dual personality as the theme of his latest novel, *The White Cat*, Mr. Burgess has departed from the literary fields formerly frequented by him and has attempted work of a more serious character than we have been accustomed to look for from his prolific pen.

*The White Cat* is an exciting and rather well written story of a young woman who is the victim, as she supposes, of amnesia, her lapses of memory occurring about one day in every seven. For a long time she is ignorant of the fact that during these periods another personality inhabits her body—a personality in every way inferior to her real self and whose presence, for selfish and unworthy reasons of his own, is encouraged by the physician who the girl believes is striving

\*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.



to help her gain her normal condition. A young architect, whose automobile is wrecked near her home, becomes interested in her and falls in love with the true Joy Fielding. Thenceforth he wages a bitter battle with Dr. Copin in an effort to free his sweetheart from the domination of the lower personality whose entrance into Joy's body the physician

is encouraging by means of hypnotic suggestions. A devoted colored girl, some remarkable colliers and a high-class Chinaman, who is in hiding from the tong to which he belongs, all add to the interest of the story, which moves swiftly from the opening pages and culminates in a highly melodramatic climax.

AMY C. RICH.

## OUR MONTHLY CHAT WITH OUR READERS.

WE BELIEVE this issue will be found to be one of the strongest and most interesting numbers of THE ARENA that has ever appeared. Its contents are varied in character and vital in their grasp upon great living questions in the domains of politics, economics, education, social adjustment, religion, philosophy and art, and the writers are admirably equipped to competently discuss the subjects they treat.

Take, for example, "The Evolution of the Trust." No man, we think, in America is better qualified to consider the trust question in a masterly manner than John Moody, the author of *The Truth About the Trusts*, the most monumental and illuminating work that has appeared on the subject. Mr. Moody, who is the well-known publisher of *Moody's Magazine*, is one of the best-informed authorities on economic subjects in America's great metropolis. He is a fundamental thinker, a strong upholder of Direct-Legislation, Public-Ownership and other issues in a really practical programme of progress.

In "The False Note in the Modernization of Germany," our brilliant and authoritative correspondent in Germany, Maynard Butler, contributes a paper of international interest. This writer is one of the closest observers and most competent essayists in Europe, and the conclusions arrived at are those of a mind thoroughly trained to consider all factors involved in a great theme and to go to the root of an important question.

In the paper on "The Spirit *versus* the Letter of the Creeds," by the Rev. A. R. Kieffer, D.D., we have a masterly plea for a broader spirit in the treatment of Christian dogmas. The author is one of the very able clergymen of the Episcopal Church who while growing old in the service of Christianity, has maintained the liberal, truth-loving spirit and the larger faith that are so beautifully characteristic of youth.

In the domain of religious thought we also present a paper of real value to those who would know of the essence of a faith or belief before judging it, in "The Meaning of Christian Science," by W. D. McCrackan, A.M. The author of this paper is a graduate of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. He is the author of many scholarly works which have given him an enviable place among present-day writers. For the past two years he has been the First Reader of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, of Boston. He is, therefore, well qualified to present the teachings of Christian Science in an authoritative manner. The illustrations of Christian Science churches which accompany this paper complement the series of pictures of other churches of the same denomination that ap-

peared in the January ARENA and indicate the marvelous strides that the new belief has made, especially if the reader remembers that the first church of the denomination was built no earlier than 1896.

Passing from religion to the domain of philosophy and the drama, we find in Mr. Charles Klein's paper a deeply instructive and suggestive discussion of a very important theme. Mr. Klein, as our readers know, is the author of "The Lion and the Mouse," "The Music Master" and "The Daughters of Men," the most vital and popular of recent American plays. Following this paper will be found a contribution of the stage as a factor for progress, prepared by the editor of THE ARENA.

Mr. J. W. Bennett's paper dealing with our present status in regard to industrial efficiency is a contribution that every thinking American should peruse. It is not so pleasing to the vanity of the shallow-minded as the hosts of superficial and boastful papers that have appeared from the bureaus and sanctums where the discerning ones have learned to look for inspired utterances made in behalf of high tariff or in defense of trusts and monopolies, but it is a profoundly thoughtful contribution. The author is an able and clear-thinking journalist,—a man trained to get at the bottom of facts and statistics, to find their significance and to generalize luminously upon given data.

In Professor Edwin Maxey's article on "The Reconstruction of the House of Lords" we have a discussion of one of the larger world problems which must be of interest to all thoughtful people, and especially will it appeal to English-speaking readers.

In "Why the Catholic Church Opposes Socialism" will be found a timely contribution of value to those who have noticed the general attacks of late on Socialism all along the line, on the part of Catholic publicists, priests and prelates. In the presence of such a general assault it is important that the other side be heard, especially as much of what has been uttered as representing cardinal tenets of Socialism is so grotesquely absurd and untrue as to be thoroughly misleading to persons ignorant of what Socialism aims to achieve. The paper we present has been written by one of the brightest Socialist editorial writers in America,—a man who was born and reared in an Irish-Catholic home.

Though the above are not nearly all the features of the present issue of THE ARENA, they are sufficient to show how wide in range of thought, how able in presentation and how vital are the discussions monthly appearing in this magazine, and which, with the editorial departments, afford, as a leading paper recently observed, "a liberal education along vital lines of thought."